

MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES.

Baltimore, December, 1896.

RICHARDSON AND ROUSSEAU.

AT a time when the cosmopolitan spirit is, perhaps, more marked than ever before in literary history, it is peculiarly interesting to study its beginnings in the oldest, and for centuries, the most independent of European literatures. Up to the eighteenth century there is little of the cosmopolitan spirit anywhere. The Latin literatures do indeed interpenetrate one another, and the materials of much of the early poetry of Germany and England can be traced to French or Italian sources. It was natural that these younger literatures should first feel the influence of the older and maturer ones and so should be first to illustrate the gain and also the loss in the crossing of races, but doubtless the Latin peoples would have held aloof still longer from their northern sisters had it not been for the very thing that was meant to segregate them, the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. For this measure sent into exile, and chiefly to England, some of the sturdiest elements of French nationality, and those who had been expelled by a bodily tyranny, carrying with them a chastening rather than a chastened patriotism, returned in the winged words of a moral and æsthetic revolution.

One of the phases of this change, the influence of English novelists on the literature and life of France in the eighteenth century and our own, has recently been made the subject of detailed study by M. Texte in his "Rousseau and the Origins of Literary Cosmopolitanism."¹ From the documentary evidences that he has gathered, it is no longer difficult to see how the mind of France was prepared to receive the message of Richardson and why certain qualities in his work impressed the French more than they did the English and more than did the fiction of his contemporaries, Fielding and Smollett, who with Sterne and Goldsmith were not long in eclipsing his glory at home. We can see also more

¹ Jean-Jacques Rousseau et les origines du cosmopolitisme littéraire, étude sur les relations littéraires de la France et de l'Angleterre au xviii^e siècle, par Joseph Texte, Paris, 1895.

clearly than before the influence of Richardson on his French contemporaries, and especially on the "New Héloïse" by which the jealous Rousseau first won universal applause and handed down the spirit of Richardson interpenetrated with his own, to the once admired novels of Madame de Staël and the still quivering romances of the young George Sand. Nor does his indirect influence end even here. It has been fruitful in introducing sometimes unconsciously into the French mind that helpful principle so clearly expressed by Renan that

"the Gallic race to produce what is in it, needs to be fructified by the Germanic. Such reciprocal intercourse" he continues "is the principle of our modern civilization, the cause of its superiority and the best guarantee of its permanence."

Hence the peculiar interest that must always attach to its first manifestations in France.

The sixteenth century had been preëminently humanistic. The ideals of its art were in the classical past while its ethics wavered between Pagan and Christian antiquity. Under these conditions there might be, probably would be, a close bond between the representatives of culture in France, Germany and England, but the phases of that culture that were distinctively French, German or English would affect foreign thought but little. There could be no true cosmopolitanism until the national characteristics of each race had become marked in its work. This was the part of the seventeenth century, both in France and in England. Then at the opportune moment the Edict of Nantes was revoked and the tide of French emigration completed the circuit for the alternating currents of culture.

French Huguenots were as much enemies of humanism as of Catholicism. They found in England a kindred spirit, restless, industrious, investigating, protestant, and it was probably not without a certain malicious pleasure that they set about transplanting this spirit to France under the more or less honest belief that the crossing of races and intellects would improve the stock, but also as the most subtle and efficient answer in their power to the *brutum fulmen* of the dragonnades.

It is curious to trace the gradual steps in the transformation of the feeling of cultured France toward England during the next fifty years. Late in the seventeenth century the English appeared to Madame de Motteville as "savage barbarians" and to M. de Saumaise as "more savage than their dogs," and there is no lack of evidence that the English returned these appreciations in their usual blunt kind. But before Voltaire had published his *English Letters* in 1735, sober men were already accusing the French of Anglomania, and that book did but accelerate a current made up of an aggregation of individually insignificant writers, who industriously preached the sweet simplicity of sensational philosophy and the praise of the English constitution. The press labors under the mass of their translations, the literary journalism of Holland, that curious sign of the times, teems with their reviews and the Huguenot colony ventures, now and then, on independent production also.

Political conditions favored the movement. The peaceful dignity that followed the victories of Marlborough could not but impress the imagination of those whose eyes were pained by the too obvious decay of their own monarchy under its child-king and profligate regent. Into the nidus of this disorganization Free-Masonry came from England to nestle and grow, almost immediately, into the centre of a far-reaching philosophical and political propagandism. English science, too, began to attract the admiration that it richly deserved. The more frequent French travelers made the meetings of the Royal Society and the homes of English philosophers the objects of admiring pilgrimage, until at last Muralt in his *English Letters*, published possibly as early as 1724, though himself half French and half German, tells his Swiss compatriots that the English mind is superior to that of their cousins of France.

The tension of literary curiosity is witnessed by the translation of almost all the contemporary English works that we now regard as classic. One may mention as the product of a single year, 1714, Addison's *Cato* and *The Spectator*, and Pope's *Essay on Criticism*. *Robinson Crusoe* was translated in 1720, *the Tale of a Tub* in 1721 and *Gulliver* in 1727.

In return for these, that there might be an equal feast, Motteux was revealing the healthy naturalism of Rabelais to the English. Thus the ground was both plowed and harrowed when the ex-abbé Prévost, the most popular novelist of France, yielded of his own accord the palm to Richardson, and abandoned original composition to translate the works of his contemporary for the gratification of the insatiate sentimentality of his countrywomen and not a few of his countrymen.

To realize that sentimentality one need only consider the novels of the translator himself, and especially *Manon Lescaut*, which in modern eyes would probably outrank any of Richardson's. Personally Prévost was very far from a worthy man, but his name and fame drew an attention to Richardson that was accorded to no other English writer, though it might be hard to find a stranger contrast than that between the tea-and-toast English bookseller and the clerical French Bohemian. Prévost had been twice in England and twice segregated from his countrymen there by his lax living. Thus he was brought into closer contact with English life and ways than any of his fellows, while the necessities of his position compelled him to seek a livelihood from translations that gave him a control of the language unsurpassed in depth and subtlety in his day. So he gradually acquired a cosmopolitan taste and style, and most of his own novels are not only exotic in their scenes but in their ethics.

His admiration for England was more contagious than discriminating. *Hamlet* might seem to him a "strange rhapsody" and the *Tempest* a "ridiculous piece" but he admired Otway, Dryden and Congreve. The democratic mingling of classes made the English coffee-houses appear to him "thrones of liberty." "Oh! happy isle," he exclaims and goes off in a page of dithyrambics to this home of blissful hyperboreans. He finds food for admiration even in the prize-ring, "a school where youth is trained to fearlessness, to the contempt of death and wounds," though not, it would seem, to the contempt of Tunbridge Wells, at whose rather promiscuous balls *grisettes* elbowed duchesses. For, writes the ex-abbé,

"if this charming place had existed at the time of the ancients they would not have said that Venus and the Graces made their abode at Cytherea."

His readers, however, shared his catholicity of taste, and he tells us himself with some complacency, that his novels contributed essentially to shake the confident pride of France in its fancied social and intellectual hegemony, while fostering also, though timidly, an admiration for the "state of nature," à la Rousseau, and for that "natural religion" that skims the deepening blue of its faith till little remains but the deism of a Savoyard Vicar. It is clear, however, that Prévost marks a decided advance on Marivaux in fixing the character and developing the resources of romantic fiction.

While he was thus occupied in commending England to his readers by example in his novels, and by precept in his critical review, Voltaire's *English Letters* came, in 1735, to turn his lukewarm converts into enthusiasts; for that shrewd man had masked his attack on religion, for which the time was not ripe, by insinuating in his glowing eulogy of England and English philosophy, a skepticism which indeed had been anticipated, and even exceeded, by the frank Bayle, whose bread cast on the waters now returned, not with increase, but like rich wine more palatable for its age. Prévost probably had no such *arrière pensée*. It was doubtless only a generous literary impulse that led him, on the appearance of *Pamela*, to devote the rest of his life to establishing his rival's fame, a magnanimity almost unique among the "curiosities of literature."

What was it that attracted Prévost, and with him all France and Germany, to novels that we are fain to read now, if we read them at all, in heroic condensations, while most of us still delight in *Tom Jones* and some of us still enjoy *Roderick Random*? And then, what made the Paris of 1750 cast itself with delight into the vortex of Richardson, while it raised its eyebrows at Fielding and viewed Smollett with alarm? Nothing in the life of Richardson, that dumpy, dapper, delicate, rosy, prim, precise, vain and rather effeminate tradesman, will explain the phenomenon. He was past fifty when he set out with the praiseworthy, though somewhat philistine, intention of writ-

ing "a little volume of letters in common style on such subjects as might be of use to those country readers who were unable to indite for themselves," when suddenly he found himself a famous novelist and the author of *Virtue Rewarded*. Such at least is the legend of *Pamela*, though probably Richardson knew not only what he was trying to do but also that Marivaux, who was then highly esteemed in England, had attempted something very like it, though he had dealt by preference with the aristocratic *salons*, of which till then Richardson had had but little experience, and in dealing with which he was never successful. He was shrewd enough to know his limitations, and could by no means be induced to leave the path he had come upon so happily. Therefore, though *Clarissa* is no doubt his best work, its qualities are so essentially those of *Pamela* and *Grandison*, that it will not be misleading to speak of them together.

All of them are novels of contemporary society, attempts to mirror the life of the squirarchy and the *bourgeoisie* under the normal conditions of everyday English life. They are thoroughly realistic. *Clarissa* has pages as sordid as any of *L'Assommoir*, as crass as any of Fielding or Smollett, though without the former's keen wit or the latter's rollicking humor. There is throughout an interest in minute detail that seems prophetic of the palmy days of the "human document," though Richardson never attains the architectural massiveness of Zola. He is quite too apt, as Walpole said, "to drown himself in a tea-spoon for eagerness to get to the bottom." Keats remarked his unique "power of making mountains out of molehills" and Leslie Stephens saw in him a type of "our common English clumsiness." His eagerness to tell it all, when he has very little to tell save thoughts and hopes and fears, results in a "naturalism" as realistic, but also as wearisome, as the gossip of a country village or even of a German *Kaffee-klatsch*. Like coral polyps he is ever laboriously accumulating huge masses of the individually insignificant. His very method of self-revelation by letters helped to make him fall on the side to which he inclined, though in artistic hands, this is perhaps best suited of all novelistic processes to delicate psychic analysis.

Here is Richardson's strength. He sees his characters more clearly and presents them more soberly than Fielding. His psychology is more subtle though his exposition is less brilliant. No male character of this novelistic generation is stronger than Lovelace, whose canting morgue and grossness were not so much typically English as typical of the time, with their counterpart in the Valmont of the *Liaisons Dangereuses* and their belated echoes in Stendhal and Baudelaire. Noteworthy, too, as companion pieces to Squire Western, are the stern, choleric and coarse Harlowes; but in general the women in his novels are more varied in their characteristics and more keenly analyzed than his men, as was perhaps natural in one, whose nature, like Rousseau's, was essentially feminine. He has caught admirably in *Clarissa*, and hardly less so in *Pamela*, the ingrained Puritan religious sentiment, that "steadiness of mind" as *Clarissa* calls it, which French readers found a welcome relief from the capriciousness of Marivaux' *Marianne* or Prévost's *Manon*. They found also the fascination of novelty in the truly English instinct of decorum and respectability, and their own Catholicism was too languid to overcome a curious interest in these types of Protestant character which have become nearly as foreign to us as they were to them. Today his narratives have lost their interest, but French readers of 1750 were not wrong in admiring a talent that first made the novel capable of carrying ideas.

For, indeed, there is in all Richardson's work a pervading moral seriousness which is not cant and yet suggests it. He is by instinct a homilist, a curate of souls. His heroines write to teach us, his villains to warn us by their examples. He hopes to persuade a generation of virtuous young ladies to seek, like *Pamela*, their happiness, in this world and in the next, by diligently learning "the making of jellies, comfits, sweetmeats, marmalades, cordials, and to pot and candy and preserve," while holding themselves dutifully in readiness for an hour's "agreeable conversation" with their husbands; that hedged in their prim Puritanism, like *Clarissa*, they may "never look upon any duty, much less a voluntary one with indifference;" that like

Harriet they may be rewarded with a *Grandison*, "good upon principle in every relation of life," a man who carries decorum quite over the verge of parody, "beaming with joy at having practiced all his virtues" and reflecting his smug self-righteousness in a social circle so wearisomely correct that one almost pines for *Clarissa's* prison.

But behind this didactic purpose there is a new ideal of womanhood, not without its nobility, nor without novelty, at least in France. For the fiction of adventure and curiosity he substituted the study of love and of morals, and because he was first to do this, he was, as Goethe said, the father of the modern novel throughout Europe. He redeemed from almost universal contempt a *genre* that Voltaire had not unjustly described as "the product of a weak mind writing with facility things unworthy to be read by serious men." With him and his fellows the novel became "the *épopée* of the modern world." And among them the French chose him for their peculiar model, not because his talent was greatest but because it was most cosmopolitan.

In England Richardson soon had successful rivals; not so on the Continent. In Germany the enthusiasm rose rapidly to fever heat. Klopstock begs to be attached to the Danish embassy in London that he may be within the sphere of Richardson's personality. Madame Klopstock writes to the author of *Clarissa* that "there remains for him only to tell the story of an angel." Prévost declares that no work of his own had given him such delight as *Clarissa*, and certainly no work of his own added more to his fame in France than his translations of Richardson. D'Argenson proclaimed *Grandison* "a new Christ," Marmontel thought this character "rare and marvelous," and the whole book "a masterpiece of the sanest philosophy." Diderot composed for Richardson's death an eloquent and dithyrambic eulogy of this "second Homer"; Rousseau himself did not scruple to call *Clarissa* the finest novel ever written, and even before this *Pamela* had been continued, copied, dramatized and discussed by the greatest French critics of the time. In vain the saner wits parodied, and Voltaire, grown cautious, raised a warning voice against what he

now declared to be a "jumble of futilities." All was in vain. Only Antony could conquer Antony and, even so, it was long before Rousseau's *Héloïse* had eclipsed Richardson's *Clarissa*. The women turned thirstily, the men impatiently, from the dallying of Marivaux, and the sentimental lubricity of *Manon Lescaut*, as they had already done from the picaresque naturalism of *Gil Blas*, to this surely purer, if not greater talent.

For Richardson's ruling ideas accorded with the prevailing tone of French society in 1750 as they would hardly have done at any other period. Cartesian optimism, joined to the newly gained liberties in thought and ethics to produce a sort of sentimental emotional expansion, which might be opposed to their traditional orthodoxy but not, therefore, to the vague, because foreign, religiosity of the Englishman. Indeed they soon discovered that this temper was by no means inconsistent with the sentimental sensuality that they had admired in Marivaux and Prévost. Richardson had sought, as he says,

"in an epoch devoted to diversion and pleasure, to slip in surreptitiously, and to examine the great doctrines of Christianity under the worldly mask of an amusement."

The English, with Johnson at their head, swallowed devoutly the whole bolus. The French, and the Continent generally dwelt with delight on the ingenious iteration with which he enforced the commonplaces of universal ethics, and deftly exchanged the religious sympathy of Richardson for the religious curiosity of Voltaire. What has been said of Richardson is far more true of them, that among these predecessors of the Encyclopædists virtue had become "an investment at compound interest whose beneficiaries were disposed to congratulate themselves on the excellence of their business management," while Rousseau's effort "to purify by Christian morals the lessons of philosophy" drifts in the *New Héloïse* into a "vague lacrimosity" in which the edifying yields to the "beautifully pathetic."

The lukewarmness of the French Catholicity of the time may well have contributed to Richardson's success there. The social leaders, even among the ladies of fashion, had

abandoned their confessors, or listened to their spiritual directors with a languid condescension. But that exercise is said to have a certain fascination and here was a Protestant confessor, "a Christian casuist in fiction," as M. Texte says, whose characters committed their dubious cases to paper as fully, and at least as frankly, as ever French readers had been wont to whisper them, and treated the ticklish points with a casuistic minuteness worthy of a Suarez or a Molina. Possibly this very suppression of the confessional in England had called forth the introspective novel. Its lax administration certainly left a void in fashionable French society, and so they welcomed Richardson, till Rousseau with artful cynicism outbade his model by the added ragout of a veiled or an autobiographical confession, an effrontery to which his naturally jealous disposition was stirred by the chorus of applause that had hailed *Pamela* and *Clarissa*.

The extent of the literary evolution that they wrought was greater than would have been possible, even for them, if the people had not been ready and waiting for the new gospel. Richardson's moralizing as well as his love of detail is subjective, individualistic, and thus in direct contradiction to the French classical tradition which is objective and universal. But the earlier eighteenth century had already shown signs that it was restive under the humanistic teachings of Boileau and the School of 1660. It had shown itself ready to coquet, at least, if not quite to throw itself into the arms of the naturalism of the Renaissance, to abandon the self-restraint of the age of Louis XIV for the eager utterance of the age of Rabelais and Montaigne, and so by substituting the "sweet disorder" of independence for strict classical rule it was already preparing the way for the license and even for the orgies of literary Romanticism.

But Prévost contributed essentially to the influence of Richardson by his judicious editing. After a custom for which we have today, perhaps, too great an aversion, he pruned his original in the interest of what he thought "good taste," "softening the relics of ancient British grossness," and "reducing to the usages of all Europe those of England that

might shock other nations." Richardson protested, but he was ungrateful. No author could bear the process better than he who had no style to lose and no taste to mar, whose over-ballasted craft sailed the better for being lightened of a third of its crudity and moralizing. The emotional ethics and general warmth of diffused sentiment that remained, suited precisely the delicate stomachs of the Savoyard Vicar's generation, who were moralists also, after their kind, and as willing as Dr. Johnson to take *Clarissa* for their "secular breviary," and to study in all good faith that index to its moral maxims that Richardson had so thoughtfully provided. "We may be dupes of French politics," wrote Horace Walpole, "but the French are ten times sillier than we to be dupes of our virtues."

For dupes they certainly were. It was not studious travelers who had persuaded this generation that in that happy Albion one found in peculiar measure "love of duty and tender respect for parents," that nature was "more energetic and fruitful" in Essex than in Beauce, that "passions were grander and more tragic" in London than in Rome, and "the English village girl a sort of celestial creature." This England was a mirage, made up of many factors, of which the chief were surely the novels of Richardson. But among those who shared this vision was one whose erratic genius was a torch, lighting here, destroying there, and enflaming the moral world.

That man was Rousseau. A child of Protestant Geneva he sympathized with English ideals before he knew them, though Muralt's rosy parallel between France and England fell into his hands just in time to leave its impress deep in the *New Héloïse*, an impress corrected by the melancholy disillusion of his own visit nine years later. At least we find no hint in his correspondence that his neighbors at Wootton in Derbyshire passed "English mornings" like those of the *New Héloïse* "gathered together and enjoying in silence at once the bliss of being united and the charm of meditation," a vision that took such hold on his fancy that he instructs the illustrator of his book to try to catch, if he can, their "immobility of ecstasy." It is not likely that he found there either those wonderful gardens where

art assisted nature to turn natural wildness into a nursery of sentimentality, though French gardeners had long confessed the charm of English parks.

Attracted by Muralt and jealous of Richardson, Rousseau, now the guest of Madame d'Epinay and an aspirant to a third of the affections of her sister-in-law, Madame d'Houdetot, profited by the prevailing Anglomania to turn his leisure and his experience to account in the *New Héloïse*, that "Midsummer Night's Dream of a private tutor" which has had a wider, deeper, and more prolonged influence on the minds of men and women than any other work of fiction. It is, therefore, at once just and important to draw up the account of Rousseau's original contribution to literature and of his debts to various predecessors.

From Richardson he took the epistolary form and the tone of the lay confessional to which it lent itself so readily. To him he owed the substitution of contemporary *bourgeois* characters for the romantic, chivalrous or burlesque heroes of earlier fiction, and it was from the English, though not from Richardson, that he drew Milord Edward, that

"great soul and sublime friend, in whose character of mingled sentiment and sense, Rousseau fancied that natural severity had not changed the natural humanity,"

a phlegmatic and philosophic prig, yet a lover withal and an admirer of the fine arts, a conception compounded of his readings in DeFoe, Pope, Addison, the dramatists and especially Lillo's *Merchant of London*; for Diderot, who was still his friend, had commended this play to him with great enthusiasm, and Diderot was regarded as an authority on England probably because he was the most extreme of the encyclopædists, to whom England appeared as a sort of incubator for natural philosophers.

To Richardson Rousseau owed also those prolix digressions on alms-giving, agriculture, on education, domestic economy, dueling and music, that seem a fault now but appeared a virtue to a generation fond of eloquence and of long sermons. Here in following Richardson he followed the taste of the time and also the bent of his own fancy. Far more attractive today are two other elements in the

New Héloïse that show the influence of England, though not of Richardson. These are its lyric melancholy and its sympathy with nature. Of the latter Richardson had probably the minimum that is possible to an embodied spirit, while Rousseau interpenetrates nature with character and character with environment in the spirit of true lyric idealism. Here, however, Thomson, Gray and Collins had preceded him, and he may have borrowed something from the Swiss pastoral poet Gessner also, whose popularity was then as wide and intense as his poems are insipid and monotonous. Lyric melancholy was natural to Rousseau, but he was aided in its utterance by Gray and Young, and the other sources of Ossian, with whom Rousseau joined to swell the flood of tears that reaches its highwater mark in Novalis, in *René*, *Adolphe* and *Übermann*. With Richardson's method, with his own "gift of tears" and lyric love of nature Rousseau transforms the novel into a poem by which, says M. Texte, this incomparable artist in words "renewed the very language to its depths."

But though Rousseau had *Clarissa* and possibly *Pamela* before him as he wrote, he had within him the experiences of passion nursed in a morbid brain till they had become ever present realities. He might go to England for Milord Edward. He went to himself for St. Preux, and poured into Julie and Claire his recollections of Mlle. de Galley and Mlle. de Graffenried, now fanned to new flame by the presence of Madame d'Houdetot and mingled with memories of Madame de Warens. And then to raise this study of love and friendship to the dignity that had exalted the novel in England, he gave to the whole a central purpose, the defence of the home and of Christianity against the sapping infidelity of this age of *philosophes* and *libertins*. Thus he introduced into it the inconsistencies of his own character, and produced a situation and a climax false to normal nature, though not without parallels in his day.

But whatever of his experience or of his controversies he might put into the *New Héloïse*, the parallel with *Clarissa* remained close enough to provoke comparison. The heroines were alike in their social situation and in their Protestantism. Miss Howe's re-

lations to Hickman are essentially those of d'Orbe and Claire. The Harlowes are only a little more crassly Philistine than the parents of Julie. Bomston is what Morden might aspire to become, and Wolmar has just as much of Lovelace as befits a purely intellectual libertine. Of course, therefore, critics constantly compared the books, but the verdict was not immediate nor unanimous. This may seem strange to a generation to whom Richardson has become a synonym for tediousness and Rousseau for eloquent intensity, but if the novels are judged by their moral teaching, their casuistic keenness or their psychological depth, Richardson's may claim at least the merit of priority. What has gradually won for the *New Héloïse* its unique position, is its intensely personal and lyric tone to which it educated a generation of admirers. By these artistic elements, Rousseau was able to give relative permanence to the radical break with the objective traditions of the classical school. A mere imitation of Richardson, or a school of imitators, would have produced only an eddy in the evolution of French fiction. But by grafting this foreign shoot on a French stock, by vivifying it with French sap, Rousseau broke at last the prestige of classical tradition. The *New Héloïse* is the first fruit of cosmopolitanism in France, the herald of the Romantic School.

But for this very reason the book was not at first understood in England nor appreciated in France. Gray thought it "more absurd and improbable than *Amadis of Gaul*," and a striking proof of how far such an extraordinary man as Rousseau "could be wholly mistaken as to his talents." Naturally, therefore, the French Anglomaniacs assumed a supercilious air. Grimm pronounced the *New Héloïse* "a bad copy," the Duchess of Lauzun found "a thousand times more delight in *Clarissa* than in Julie." Some blamed Rousseau's artificiality, others, like Ballanche, with catholic pathos, "wept equally over both," and this was the general attitude in France for some years during which Anglomania was nursed by the increase of international travel, especially among literary men until the American Revolution suspended these relations and the spirit of Rousseau piloted the heedless ship

of state toward the maelstrom of the Revolution.

Thus aided by the spirit of the time, the literature of the pre-Revolutionary generation becomes more emotional and individualistic, that is more lyric and more subjective. Rousseau becomes the prophet of the new era not in France alone, but in all Europe. Indeed the purely literary development of Rousseauism is at first more noteworthy among the German poets of the "Storm and Stress" than in France, where its progress was checked both by the jealous carping of Voltaire, in this as in most things a thorough conservative, and also by the recrudescence of an unreasoning admiration for the forms of Classical Antiquity. In Germany his portrait graced the severe study of Kant, Lessing confessed for him "a secret respect," while Herder proclaimed aloud his admiration for this "saint and prophet." At Strasbourg Goethe studied and excerpted his writings; to the young Schiller he was a "martyred Socrates." In England *Tristram Shandy*, and still more the *Sentimental Journey*, with their rambling confessions and astonishing "gift of tears," are a tribute to the *New Héloïse*, and in Cowper, Shelley and Byron the English from whom he had drawn so great a part of his inspiration delighted to do him honor. Even George Eliot could say that Rousseau had vivified her soul and aroused in her new faculties. And in France the eclipse was but partial and short. Robespierre had the *New Héloïse* constantly on his table, and forms his polished periods on the models of Rousseau. Bernardin de St. Pierre and Châteaubriand are hardly less his avowed pupils in literary art. With the latter's *Genius of Christianity*, with de Stael's *Literature* and her *Germany*, Rousseau's star is again in the ascendant, and with the Restoration, literary Rousseauism became an irresistible tendency. It was not for nothing that the flower of French culture had passed more than two decades in the very literary centres where the Huguenots had preceded them a century before. They returned from England and Germany bearing with them reinforcements to all the dormant elements of Romanticism. From 1814 there has been in Europe an unbroken cosmopolitan tradition.

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THE DIALECT OF THE RIES. II. THE DIALECT.

THE dialect of the people of the Ries is Swabian, although somewhat influenced by the Frankish dialect or, as I should prefer to say, by the Frankish-Bavarian dialect, because the present Bavarian dialect includes besides Altbayern (Oberbayern, Niederbayern, and Regensburg) also some parts of the provinces Ober- and Mittel-Franken.¹¹

Formerly Frankish elements seem to have prevailed, at least in the speech of the educated. Not less than about sixteen per cent of the names of the villages in the Ries and its surroundings have the suffix *-heim* which originated with the Franks, who penetrated at the close of the fifth century into the south-western parts of Germany. Another common suffix is *-hausen* found in nearly five per cent of all the names of villages. This also is a Frankish characteristic.

The suffixes *-weiler* (O.H.G. *wilāri*, M.H.G. *wilære*, *wiler*) and *-hof*, on the other hand, are Alemannian, the latter however less than the former.¹² Comparatively few names of villages with these two last mentioned suffixes are found in the Ries, a fact which does not prove anything against the Alemannian origin of the early ancestors of the Rieser. Even if there were no other evidence, the modern dialect of the Ries would prove that the inhabitants are of Alemannian origin. Their dialect is Swabian, though it differs from other Swabian dialects.

On account of the frequency of the sibilants (*Zischlaute*), Frickhinger classifies the dialect of the Ries with those of Central Swabia, admitting that it was somewhat influenced by the Frankish-Bavarian dialect.¹³

Near the boundaries of Württemberg the doublets, which are so characteristic of the dialect of the Ries, are not so frequent as in other parts of the district. We hear besides *ale* more frequently *ele* (= *alle*); besides *Nearle*, *Nearleng*, etc. Near the Frankish boundary, in Oettingen, Laub, Kreuth, etc., the Frankish dialect naturally shows a slight influence, but

¹¹ Cf. Weinhold, *Bayr. Gram.* §2, p. 5.

¹² Cf. Mayer, *Ortnamen im Ries*, pp. 7 ff.

¹³ Cf. *Beiträge zur Anthropologie und Urgeschichte Bayerns*, hrsg. von Ranke und Rüdinger., Vol. viii.

the Swabian idioms are not crowded out as one might imagine, a number of doublets occurring. Besides *hond* (3. pers. plur of *haben*) we hear *hübed*.

Still further southeast, south from Oettingen toward Wemding, in Huisheim, Gosheim, etc., we hear instead of *i woes: i woas*; instead of *goes: goas*, for which reason these people are sometimes called the "Pfälzer". These are however exceptional cases. In former years a few Catholic villages situated between Harburg and Wemding really belonging to the "Pfalz".¹⁴ The above examples are the only traces left of the Pfälzer dialect.

There is a slight difference between the speech of the Protestants and Catholics, although this may sound strange. There is even a difference in their outward appearance. Ordinarily the peasant of the Ries wears a striped cap, close fitting with a hanging extension, to which is attached a tassel. On Sunday he wears a felt hat or, if he be wealthy, a high cap of otter fur. His coat is short, generally made of black velvet or broadcloth. On Sunday many wear a long coat extending almost to the ankles or a *jupon*. The vest is also made of black velvet or broad cloth with silver buttons as large as a walnut. The trousers are made of leather and reach to the knee. They are usually highly ornamented with stitchwork. Long white stockings are worn in summer, black stockings in winter. Low leather shoes of simple make are common. The dress of the women is somewhat like that of the Swiss women, varied and picturesque. Among the Catholics the men usually wear long trousers reaching to the ankles. Both men and women are fond of displaying gaudy colors.¹⁵

To return to the subject of language, I still remember from my school days, that Protestant boys pronounced the word *seele: sēl* and the word *knecht: knēchd*, while Catholics said: *sēal* or *sēl*, *knēachd* etc.

Kauffmann,¹⁶ Bopp,¹⁷ Birlinger,¹⁸ Fromman,¹⁹ Weinhold²⁰ and other writers on Swabian dialects have made similar observations.

At the time of the Reformation and especially

¹⁴ Cf. *Bavaria*, ii, 853 ff.

¹⁵ Cf. *Bavaria* ii. 862 ff.

¹⁶ p. 61, §71.

¹⁷ p. 55.

¹⁸ *Al.* xi, 49.

¹⁹ *D. M.* ii, 107.

²⁰ *Alem. Gram.*, p. 80, §88.

during the Thirty Years War, when Catholics and Protestants were publicly and politically opposed to each other, such a phenomenon could be easily explained. Villages, which were Protestant, were compelled to accept Catholic priests as their pastors, but on the other hand, Catholic villages turned Protestant voluntarily. Under such a continual change the language of the people in the Ries and in Swabia generally, became somewhat influenced by the Protestant or Catholic preachers who, coming from different parts of the country, brought with them their dialect.²¹ Upon the whole, the Catholics are conservative not only in their religion, customs and habits, but also in regard to their dialect.²² And thus we may, perhaps, say, that the Catholic idioms and vowels represent a purer Swabian dialect than the Protestant. We cannot say, however, that the Catholics in the Ries come in contact with the Franks less than the Protestants do. I see therefore in the few slight differences between the Catholic and Protestant speech, which is not readily discerned, merely the preservation of an older condition, which, however, is gradually disappearing.

VOCALISM.

As to the relation of vowel quantities to the Middle High German and New High German, we must remember, that in judging the quantities the position of the word in the sentence is of great importance. The accent has in almost every dialect more or less influence on the vowels and their quantity. For instance, in the dialect of the Ries, *ich*, when emphasized is pronounced like *i*, when less emphasized like *ī*, if it is not accented at all, like *ē*.

The dialect of the Ries has lengthened the M.H.G. short vowels and obscured the long ones or diphthongized them. This the dialect has in common with the Swabian dialects, but the tendency to lengthen or shorten a vowel varies in different parts of Swabia, as was already observed by Bopp.²³ In many cases the quantity of the vowels cannot be accurately determined.

²¹ Cf. Friedrich Kluge, *Von Luther bis Lessing*, pp. 128 ff.

²² Cf. H. Fisher, *Vierteljahresheft* 1881 p. 132. and Rapp, *D. M.*, ii, 104.

²³ Cf. C. Bopp, *Der Vokalismus des Schwäbischen in der Mundart von Münsingen*, p. 27. 8.

a. Lengthening of the vowels.

Lengthening of the old vowels is one of the chief characteristics in N.H.G. as compared with M.H.G., especially in dissyllabic words with an open first syllable. This loss of the original short vowels is frequent in the dialect of the Ries. Going even farther than the N.H.G., our dialect has a long vowel usually before liquida cum muta (*bärt, kält, sält*, etc.). There is a well marked tendency to strengthen monosyllabic uninflected nouns through "Tonfülle," or, as Sweet²⁴ calls it, compound falling or rising-falling tone as in England *ōh*, when expressing sarcasm (*sāk, sāts, klōts*, etc.). This process of lengthening is due to a tendency to distinguish between the inflected and uninflected forms. Often the lengthened and the original short forms of the same word exist side by side, and thus help sometimes to distinguish more clearly cases and numbers in the declension (*blāt, blētr*).

b. Shortening of the vowels.

The shortening of old long vowels is not uncommon in the dialect and in many cases agrees with N.H.G. The position of a vowel before double consonants and combination of consonants, causes shortening (*nōchbr, blōtr*). We find, however, cases of shortening without plausible reason. M.H.G. short vowels usually remain before *p, t, k*, and before the spirants that have resulted from these stops (tenues) in the H.G. shifting of sounds: *ff, zz, hh (ch)*; (*babl=pappel*). Exceptions, however, are numerous. The shortening of M.H.G. long vowels in the dialect of the Ries is an exceptional phenomenon and to be explained partly by the following double consonant, partly by other elements that preserve shortness, and partly from a slighter degree of stress.

Umlaut.

The umlaut of the root-vowel is found in cases in which the N.H.G. does not show it, in nouns and adjectives as well as in verbs (*bruk, brik=brücke; arwed, arbod=arbeiten* etc.). On the other hand, we also find cases of umlaut in N.H.G. in which the dialect does not show it (*bud=büttele, lupfo=lüpfen*). This irregularity is, perhaps, due to the Frankish-Bavarian influence and to the mixture of

Catholic-Protestant population. In consequence of it, a great many are found in the Ries dialect. Besides *mōndēng* we have *mēde* = *montag*; *weschə: wäscha*; *blaeə: bluis*, etc. The umlaut of the diphthongs deserves special attention. Most diphthongs have the stress on the first element. Sometimes three vowels are combined and then we have a triphthong, as in *druis, tswois, gloes*, etc., or rather glides, which sounds are produced during the transition from one sound to another. Glides, however, are not so frequent as in other Swabian dialects.

The principal points, in which the influence of the Frankish-Bavarian dialect upon the dialect of the Ries is shown, are as follows:

1. M.H.G. *ā* > Frankish *ǣ*, as in; *hēd* = M.H.G. *hāt, hāt* 3. p. sing., *bētr* = M.H.G. *bāre*, N.H.G. *bahre*.
2. M.H.G. *ou (au)* > *ū* and *ǔ*, as in; *ūg* = M.H.G. *ouge*, N.H.G. *auge*; *kōfə* = M.H.G. *koufen*, N.H.G. *kaufen*.
3. M.H.G. *i* (long) *iu* > *ae*, as in; *blaebə* = M.H.G. *beliben*, N.H.G. *bleiben*; *laed* = M.H.G. *liute*, N.H.G. *leute*.
4. M.H.G. *ū* (long) > *ao*, as in; *haos* = M.H.G. *hus*, N.H.G. *haus*, *aof* (: *ōf*) = M.H.G. *ūf* N.H.G. *auf*.
5. M.H.G. *ei* > *ē*; *ē*, as in *mēdle* = M.H.G. *meit*, N.H.G. *mädchen*; *drēgd* (: *drechd*) = M.H.G. *treit*, N.H.G. *trägt*.

The Frankish dialect has no pure *a*, while in the Ries the pure *a* is very common.

Also the Bavarian (Altbairisch., Oberpfälzisch) influence appears in some words:

1. M.H.G. *ō* > *oa*, as in *roat* = M.H.G. *rōt*, N.H.G. *rot*: frequently before *r* the *o* is diphthongized, *roar* = M.H.G. *rōr*. O.H.G. *rōra*, N.H.G. *rohr*. The umlaut of this *oa* is *ea* as in *kleasdr* plur. from *kloasdr* = M.H.G. *klōster*, N.H.G. *kloster*.
2. The M.H.G. diphthong *uo* > *uə* as in *guəd* = M.H.G. *guot*, N.H.G. *gut*.
3. The suffix *eng* is also to be considered as a result of the Bavarian influence as in: *brēdengə* = M.H.G. *predigen*, N.H.G. *predigen*; *schuldeng*: *schulde* = M.H.G. *schuldic*, N.H.G. *schuldig*.
4. The disappearance of *ch* in the suffix *lich*, which is substituted for *le* (sometimes = *eng*), the dialect of the Ries has in common

²⁴ Cf. Sweet, *A New Engl. Grammar*, p. 228.

with Bavarian-Swabian or East-Swabian dialects (*redle*=M.H.G. *redelich*; N.H.G. *redlich* etc.).

The nasalized vowels *ā*, *ē*, *ō* and *ō̄* are as common as in other Swabian dialects and also nasalized diphthongs. But as to their quantity or quality, whether open or close, short or long, there is some difference.

CONSONANTISM.

b often interchanges with *w*, no doubt due to Bavarian influence.²⁵ The medial *b* is often represented by *w* as in *lęwed*, which is Frankish, while *lēbed* is Swabian. Inorganic *f* is not known in the Ries. M.H.G. *f* (*v*) is only exceptionally represented by *pf* (*pflüdr̥*=M. H.G. *vlādern*), the dialect differing here again from other Swabian dialects. As in most of the Southern German dialects, no distinction is made between *p* and *b*, *b* frequently disappears.

Similarly no distinction is made between *d* and *t*; *d* is seldom dropped, but appears frequently inorganically.

The past participle of the verbum substantivum *sein* retains its *s*. The Rieser says *gweś* or *gweśd* which distinguishes it from other Swabian dialects. The Swabian forms *gweś* or *gsae* (the diphthongization of *gesin*) are not known in the Ries.

The Sibilants occur frequently, a phenomenon which again characterizes the dialect as Swabian.

The guttural system does not show any Upper Alemannian characteristic;²⁶ *g* shows sometimes Frankish aspiration as in *hertsoch*=N.H.G. *herzog*, or sometimes in *sehd* instead of *segd*=N.H.G. *sagt*; *g* becomes, however, more frequently tenuis (*sakd*=*sagt*); *ch* is sometimes palatal, sometimes guttural; final *ch* is dropped, but not so commonly as in other Swabian dialects, the Ries dialect agreeing here again with Frankish Bavarian.

The sonorous consonants.

In regard to the semi-vowels little is to be said as they agree upon the whole with common Swabian. In exceptional cases *j* shows a slight friction as in *juks̥*=M.H.G. *juchezen* N.H.G. *jauchzen*; *jide*=N.H.G. *judin*.

²⁵ Cf. Birlinger, *Die Augsburger Mundart*, p. 17.

²⁶ Cf. Paul's *Grundriss* I, 282.

The liquids *l* and *r* have in the dialect of the Ries a greater influence upon the vowels than they have in other Swabian dialects, due to the Bavarian influence.

The liquids frequently develop the svara-bhakti vowel, a phenomenon not very common; Bopp in his dissertation on the dialect of Münsingen denies its local existence. Kauffmann and Wagner mention only a few cases. In comparison with common Swabian we find also that the dialect of the Ries does not show so many inorganic *l*'s: *r* is seldom dropped and not so generally neglected as in Upper-Swabia.²⁷ The uvular *r* (Zäpfchen-*r*) is not known in the Ries. Into other parts of Swabia for example, (Reutlingen), as Prof. Wagner asserts,²⁸ this uvular *r*, the so-called 'grasseyer' of the French, has been introduced by the French soldiers quartered there during the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. This position is, I think, not tenable, because the same phenomenon, if it had been caused by the French, would have been found also in most of the other parts of Swabia and Bavaria. The Bavarian *r* is more liquid than the Alemannian.

The nasals *m*, *n* and *ng* show upon the whole the same characteristics as in common Swabian. The nasalized consonant is frequently dropped, but the nasalized vowels and diphthongs retain their nasal sound.

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JEAN-BAPTISTE ROUSSEAU AS HISTORIOGRAPHER.

WHEN Rousseau left Paris in 1711, without waiting for the final decree declaring his perpetual banishment from France, on account of the famous couplets of 1710,² he went to Soleure, Switzerland. There he was received by the French ambassador, the Comte de Luc,

²⁷ Cf. Sailer's *Sämmtliche Schriften in schwäb. Dialecte*.

²⁸ Cf. Wagner, p. 170.

¹ This decree was registered April 7, 1712.

² The question as to the authorship of these couplets is no easy matter to decide. I believe, however, after examining all the evidence to be obtained at the *Bibliothèque Nationale*, that Rousseau did not write them. The proof against Joseph Saurin, who was accused by Rousseau, is also insufficient, and the probabilities are that the real author will never be known.

with whom he remained for several years. In 1715, when this official was transferred to the Embassy at Vienna, Rousseau followed him to the Austrian coast, where he soon won the favor of the Prince Eugene. Until 1717, when the Comte de Luc was obliged to return to France on account of poor health, Rousseau remained a member of his household. Then the Prince Eugene became his patron and promised to secure for him, as we learn from Rousseau, a position which would give him a comfortable income. From this time on, numerous references to the position occur in Rousseau's letters³ but nothing definite is said, as the following extracts from letters to M. Bautet, one of his friends in Paris, will show:

Vienne, le 30 jan., 1717.

.... Mes affaires sont presque réglées; j'aurai un emploi dans les Pays-Bas et le prince a eu la bonté de me faire toucher mille écus, par provision. Jugez de sa générosité. L'année passée, deux jours avant la bataille de Peter-varadin⁴ il m'envoya un diamant de 4000 l. que je porte actuellement au doigt et que je tâcherai de conserver toute ma vie. Vous voyez que ma fortune se rétablit. Je ne puis vous dire quelle place m'est destinée, jusqu'à ce que le Conseil ait réglé la forme du gouvernement des Pays-Bas, qui a été très négligé depuis Charles II.⁵ Je ne suis sûr que d'avoir un emploi sans savoir lequel. Le prince Eugene qui doit s'y rendre au retour de la campagne m'y installera lui-même. Au moyen de quoi, je deviendra sujet de l'Empereur, après quoi mon dessein est de prendre des lettres de naturalization.

(Lettres, t. I, p. 101.)

Vienne, 2 juillet, 1720.

Je n'ose plus, M., vous parler de mon voyage aux Pays-Bas, après tous les contretemps que l'ont retardé depuis deux ans. J'ai pris le parti de n'y plus songer et de remettre à la Providence le soin de ma destinée. Il y a bientôt 18. mois que toutes mes hardes sont à Bruxelles: nous devions partir dans huit jours, et cependant nous sommes encore ici sans savoir quand nous en partirons.

(Lettres, t. I, p. 111.)

Vienne, 20 janvier, 1721.

Le Prince Eugene n'attend qu'une réponse des Pays-Bas pour partir: j'espère qu'elle ne tardera pas et que je m'y rendrai avec lui.

(Lettres, t. I, p. 120.)

³ *Lettres de Rousseau sur différents sujets de littérature.* Barrillot et Fils, Genève. 1750. 5 vols. in-12.

⁴ Victory won by the Prince Eugene against the Turks.

⁵ Charles II, King of Spain (1665-1700).

Vienne, 1 fév., 1722.

Oui, Monsieur, je pars d'ici sans faute dans huit jours. Adieu, monsieur, l'affaire de mon établissement est en bon train; mais je ne puis encore vous en rien dire de positif.

(Lettres, t. I, p. 121.)

Bruxelles, 6 octobre, 1722.

Enfin, Monsieur je me retrouve à Bruxelles et j'espère pouvoir bientôt vous mander quelque chose de positif sur mon établissement.

(Lettres, t. I, p. 123.)

Londres, 20 février, 1723.

.... Je compte être de retour à Bruxelles (au mois de mai), où je vois par toutes les lettres que je reçois de M. le Prince Eugene que je trouverai mes affaires ou faites ou bien avancées. L'emploi qu'on songe à me former est de mille écus qui voudraient chez vous aujourd'hui, près de 8000. liv. comme il faut pour cela un arrangement nouveau, le Conseil des Finances y a trouvé des difficultés: mais n'ayant que la voix consultative, leur opposition n'est d'aucune conséquence.

(Lettres, t. I, p. 129.)

Bruxelles, 20 octobre, 1723.

.... La conclusion de mes affaires me fait regarder comme très-prochain mon retour à Vienne, que je dois appeler ma vraie patrie. Je devrais même avoir, dès-à-présent, mes Patentes, qui étaient prêtes à y être envoyées il y a trois semaines, sans un accident imprévu qui a obligé M. le Marquis de Prié d'y faire un changement qui les rendra plus solides. Je ne me presse point, parceque je regarde la chose comme infaillible.

(Lettres, t. I, p. 134.)

Bruxelles, 20 jan., 1724.

J'ai ma permission de retourner à Vienne et je compte de m'y acheminer vers le mois de juin. Mes Patentes sont expédiées à la chancellerie et vont partir pour Vienne. Comme la signature ne les retiendra longtemps, elles reviendront ici vers le 15 du mois prochain, et seront scellées avant le mois de mars: après quoi je n'aurai plus rien à faire ici. Je vous dirai alors, le titre qu'elles me donnent.

(Lettres, t. I, p. 137.)

Bruxelles, 17 juillet, 1723.

J'ai enfin, M., mes Patentes depuis deux mois, et je n'en suis pas plus avancé, par une difficulté survenue entre le Gouvernement et le Conseil, où elles doivent être enregistrées. Cet obstacle qui ne saurait être levé qu'à Vienne, m'empêche d'y retourner, parceque, c'est ici que je dois prêter mon serment, et que j'ignore le temps où l'on pourra recevoir la décision de la cour.

(Lettres, t. I, p. 139.)

Bruxelles, 1 avril, 1725.

Mon affaire vient de passer au Conseil des Finances qui a opiné d'une voix, en ma faveur.

Elle a été ensuite portée au Conseil d'Etat, qui s'est conformé à celui des Finances. Il ne s'agit plus que de dresser la consulte et de l'envoyer à Vienne. J'espère que le décret de l'Empereur ne me sera pas moins favorable que l'avis des conseils. . . . Cette affaire me paraît certaine.

(*Lettres*, t. I, p. 147.)

Bruxelles, 20 octobre, 1725.

L'affaire de mon établissement se trouve accrochée, M., par les changements faits dans les Finances et les chargés à l'occasion du gouvernement de l'Archiduchesse.

(*Lettres*, t. I, p. 152.)

Bruxelles, 10 nov., 1725.

J'espère avoir le décret de l'Empereur à la fin de ce mois: ce qui rendra mon établissement plus solide qu'il ne l'aurait été avec une simple Patente de M. le Prince Eugène.

(*Lettres*, t. I, p. 149.)

It is evident that Rousseau, in these letters, was speaking of an affair which concerned intimately, for a number of years, the course of his existence, but his references are always vague and indefinite. Being unable to find any more exact information in his correspondence, and getting no help from his numerous biographers who have been content to speak of a position without trying to explain the reference, further investigation brought to light in the *Bulletin de l'Académie royale de Belgique*, 2^{me} série, tome II (1846), an article entitled, *Notice sur Jean-Baptiste Rousseau. Historiographe des Pays-Bas Autrichiens par M. Gachard, archiviste général du Royaume.*

As this article settles the question and as it never seems to have been noticed by subsequent writers on the subject, the facts discovered by M. Gachard may be of interest.

The correspondence shows that Rousseau expected to go to Brussels with the Prince Eugene for the final settlement of the affair; but Eugene was unable to make the trip as soon as he had expected, and after waiting five years, Rousseau, impatient, went by himself in 1722. At this time the Prince wrote to his deputy, the Marquis de Prié asking him to have delivered to Rousseau a commission as historiographer of the Pays-Bas. (*Consulte du Conseil d'Etat* du 24 avril, 1725.) As Racine and Boileau had held similar positions under Louis XIV, it is probable that the Prince Eugene considered this sufficient precedent for conferring such a position upon a poet.

In making this request, it is possible that he was unaware of the fact that the position already existed, and that it was then occupied. It had been created by Philippe II, in favor of *Juste-Lipse*, whose letters of appointment were issued December 14, 1595. In 1722, the historiographer was *Jean-Gérard Kerckerdere*, who received his commission May 18, 1708, and held it until he died in 1738. If the Prince Eugene was aware of this fact, he was trying to re-establish a precedent which Charles II had tried, without success, to establish in 1689, in the creation of a second historiographer.

However this may be, the Marquis de Prié found difficulty in obtaining Rousseau's commission as the *intendants des finances* opposed the project from motives of economy, the finances of the Netherlands being in a bad condition, and cited the instructions of the Emperor, forbidding the creation of any new places. The Prince Eugene, to expedite matters, sent from Vienna, in his own name, formal letters creating Rousseau historiographer, and bearing the date January 15, 1724. (*Consulte du Conseil d'Etat* du 24 avril, 1725.)

It is probable that Rousseau would now have received this long-sought position, if circumstances had not intervened. At this time a quarrel arose between the famous comte de Bonneval, who had been sent to Brussels in the latter part of 1723, to take command of the Austrian infantry in the Netherlands, and the Marquis de Prié, the representative of the Prince Eugene. Rousseau, who had known Bonneval at Vienna, sided with him, and is supposed to have written for him, or helped him to write, some satiric verses which angered Prié. As Rousseau, in this affair, had naturally injured his cause, he set out for Vienna about September 1, 1724, hoping to hasten the confirmation of his appointment. While on the way, however, he learned, Sept. 3, of the arrest of Bonneval, and upon his arrival at Vienna, he practically forgot his own affairs in his efforts to secure Bonneval's release. In this he was unsuccessful, and at the same time he offended Eugene who was siding with Prié.

To make the matter worse, when Rousseau returned to Brussels in March, 1725, he found that the administration of the Netherlands had been given to the archduchess, Marie-

Elizabeth, the sister of the Emperor, while the Prince Eugene had been made *Vicaire Général* of the Italian provinces. Prié had been deposed and the Comte de Daun was representing the Archduchess. While in Vienna, Rousseau had been assured by the Emperor that he would ratify the commission sent by Eugene as soon as it had been approved by the *Conseil d'Etat des Pays-Bas*. So he sought out the Comte de Daun, who proposed the matter again to the *intendants des finances*, and this time they were favorable to it. At the session of the *Conseil d'Etat*, however, although the majority of the members were friendly to Rousseau, the few who were not so succeeded in prevailing upon Daun to leave the decision to the Emperor. (*Consulte du Conseil d'Etat du 24 avril, 1725, aux Archives du Royaume de Belgique*.) Rousseau was now very confident that the matter would be soon finished, as is shown by the last letter cited.

But at this time the *Conseil suprême des Pays-Bas* sent a communication to the Emperor, in which his attention was called to the fact that an historiographer already existed (Kerckerdere), and expressed its astonishment that neither the *intendants des finances* nor the members of the *Conseil d'Etat* had mentioned this fact in their discussion of the question. In addition, various objections were raised to the fitness of Rousseau for such a position:

Y quando dicho empleo fuesse vacante, parece que no seria conveniente conferirle á Rousseau, tanto por ser francés de nacion, quanto, porque el empleo de historiographo le diera adito á todos los archivos del pais, y á la plena noticia de los papeles mas reservados, circunstancia que pudiera traer consigo muchos y muy notables inconvenientes que deja el conasego á la alta consideracion de V. Md., mayormente, quando dicho Rousseau ne tiene el crédito assentado, tanto por su peligrosa profession, quanto por los motivos por los quales fué hechado de su patria.

A todo lo qual se añade el requisito necesario de la lengua flamenca, que ignora Rousseau, y sin la qual el historiographo de aquellos paises seria de poco provecho respecto que una grande cantidad de papeles y noticias, assí antiguas como modernas se hallan en lengua flamenca.

(*Consulte du 3 août, 1725, conservée en original aux Archives du Royaume de Belgique*.)

It is apparent that, after this communication,

some powerful influence, such as that of the Prince Eugene, would have been necessary to turn the tide in Rousseau's favor. But this prince, although still continuing his correspondence with Rousseau, had lost much of his earlier enthusiasm for the poet, and since the Bonneval affair had ceased to show him marked favor.

Consequently, the Emperor, not wishing to take any part in the matter, allowed it to go by default, and so it came to pass that Jean Baptiste Rousseau was never, in due form, the *Historiographe des Pays-Bas Autrichiens*.

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CHAUCER'S LEGEND OF GOOD WOMEN AND BOCCACCIO'S DE GENEALOGIA DEORUM.

In a former note (x: 379) treating of the list of hapless lovers in the *Hous of Fame*, an attempt was made to show that Chaucer was not indebted to Ovid only. He tells us, for example, in what way Phedra was connected with the desertion of Ariadne; Ovid does not. He says explicitly that Phyllis hanged herself; in the *Heroides* this mode of death appears simply as one of three she ponders her choice of while lamenting her departed lover. The poet must evidently have used some other source, and since he has made Phyllis the daughter of Lycurgus of Thrace, owing, as Lounsbury pointed out (ii, 232) to a heading "De Phyllida Lycurgi filia" in the *De Genealogia Deorum*, from that work also, it was suggested, he might have acquired his precise information concerning her mode of death. Such is the case. Boccaccio's famous mythology (here quoted in the translation of Betussi, Venice, 1564) not only confirms the suggestion, but calls attention as well to a number of other points in an unexpected, and what seems to be a helpful way.

The story of Phyllis as it appears in the *Hous of Fame* (l. 388 f.) is referred by Skeat to the *Heroides*, ep. 2. In his comment upon it as it appears in the *Legend of Good Women* (ll. 2934 f.) he adds that it is told by Hyginus (capp. 59, 243) and in a few lines by Boccaccio. Hyginus may at once be set aside; his version is a simple variant of the filbert-tree legend,

and says nothing of Phyllis's having hanged herself. Skeat does not seem to have examined Boccaccio; he does not mention him again. He says also (3, xi) that a comparison with Gower (*C. A.* ii, 26) shows that both Chaucer and Gower "consulted some further source which I cannot trace." This is possibly true of Gower; it is not true of Chaucer, every detail of whose story is contained either in Ovid or Boccaccio.

References to the *Legend of Good Women* will suffice, as covering for the briefer version in the *House of Fame*. At the beginning we read (ll. 2404 f.):

Destroyed is of Troye the citee;
This Demophon com sailing in the see
Toward Athenes to his paleys large.

Of Troy, Ovid says nothing. Gower says Demophon was going to Troy. But Boccaccio says he came to Thrace (x, 171^{vo}); "Rouinata poi Troia; ritornando uerso la patria."

The description of the storm follows, which we learn (ll. 2420 f.):

possest him now up now down
Til Neptune hath of him compassioun,
And Thetis, Chorus, Triton, and they alle,
And maden him upon a lond to falle
Wher-of that Phillis lady was and quene,
Ligurgus doghter.

Ovid's reference to a storm (if it is such) is remote and by implication. It is Phyllis distraught by love (furiosa) who speaks (*Her.* ep. 2, 456):

at laceras etiam puppes furiosa refeci,
ut, qua desererer, firma carina foret.

Compare now Boccaccio (x, 171^{vo}):

"Per fortuna di mare [da uenti & da fortuna cacciato (xi: 185^{vo})] fu portato in Thracia doue da Philli figliuola del Re Ligurno [Ligurgo (xi, 185^{vo})] fu raccolto & nel proprio letto alloggiato."

Chaucer, it will be seen uses in the above passage the name Chorus. This is not, Skeat says, known as the name of a sea-god. He suggests accordingly (as also Bech) a borrowing from the *Aeneid* (v. l. 823 f.):

et senior Glauci chorus, Inousque Palemon
Tritonesque citi, Phorcique exercitus omnis
Lanea tenent Thetis et Melite, Panopeaque uirgo.

"Here we find," he adds,

"Thetis, chorus, Triton; whilst 'and they alle' answers to *exercitus omnis* . . . Chorus

is used for Caurus, the north-west wind, in Chaucer's *Boethius*, bk. iv, met. 5, 17; but this is not the purpose."

The suggestion is certainly attractive—but why should Chaucer have misread Virgil's word "chorus?" Perhaps his use of it in *Boethius* is more in point than Skeat thinks. The word is not in fact necessarily the name of a sea-god; and when we turn to Boccaccio, we find that he several times refers to "choro," who "fa l'aere nuuoloso" (iv, 78^{vo}), and that he further says (iv, 76^{vo}):

"Dalla sinistra Choro, percioche chiude il circolo di uenti & fa quasi un choro, nondimeno prima dice esser detto *Chauro*; et da alcuni Agreston."

Chorus then, would seem to stand, very appropriately, for the circle or concourse of the winds.

At l. 2442, we are told of Demophoon

For at Athenes duk and lord was he,
As Theseus his fader hadde y-be.

Theseus, it is to be noted, is spoken of in the past tense,—and yet, in the *Heroides*, Phyllis speaks of him as alive and in Athens (*Her.* ep. 2. ll. 13 f.):

Thesea devovi, quia te dimittere nolet:
nec tenuit cursus forsitan ille tuos.

The contradiction is a point of evidence in itself, but the testimony which Chaucer's lines afford in another connection, is, as will be seen, much more important.

In ll. 2483 f. the death of Phyllis is related. Demophoon does not return,

And that hath she so harde and sore aboght,
Allas! that, as the stories us recorde,
She was her owne deeth right with a corde,

Skeat refers to *Her.* sp. 2. 141 f. without calling attention to the fact that hanging is only one of three ways which suggest themselves to Phyllis, and that nothing is said of her choice of any one of them. He might much better have cited a more explicit passage in the *Remedia Amoris* (ll. 601 f.) which does not seem to have been quoted before in this connection:

nona terebatur miserae uia: uideris, inquit:
et spectat zonam pallida facta suam.
adspicit ad ramos: dubitat, refugitque quod audet
et timet et digitos ad sua colla refert.

But not even here is the fact of her death plainly stated. Moreover, would the pic-

turesque use of her girdle have escaped Chaucer? Compare on the other hand the *De Genealogia* (xi, 185^{ro}):

"[Demophonte] nō ritornando al debito tempo, et ella non potendo sopportare piu la lontananza (come uogliono alcuni) con laccio fini la sua uita."

Boccaccio, it will be seen, manifests a decided preference for the story of her having hanged herself. He goes on to say that others have it that she threw herself into the sea, and by the compassion of the gods was converted into an almond (or filbert tree; cf. Gower's "filliberd tre"), hence named after her in Greek. But for this story he gives an explanation. Zephyrus, a western wind, passing into Thrace by way of Athens, stirs life in this tree, "et di quì la fauola hebbe luogo, ciò è Phillide allegrarsi, & fiorire per lo ritorno dello innamorato da Athene."

From these various correspondences and those pointed out by Lounsbury in other connections (cf. references in his Index), there can be no doubt that Chaucer knew and used the *De Genealogia*. It follows that in the phrase "as the stories us recorde," in the fifth line of the passage above quoted, and compared with Boccaccio, Chaucer refers directly to this work. To the separate portion of the *Heroides*, he always refers as the "epistle" or the "lettre" of Ovid. But here it is the "stories," and when the character of Boccaccio's work is considered—that it consists of a series of stories briefly told and connected by headlines which enable the reader to follow special lines of ancestry or history—the appropriateness of such a reference is apparent.

If now it is clear that Chaucer derived help from the *De Genealogia*, a point can be taken up of greater importance than those yet spoken of. Ovid, it was seen, treated Theseus as if still alive, while Chaucer refers to him as in the past. In this Chaucer shows himself familiar with Demophoon's history (so, too, in knowing that he was coming from Troy), though Ovid, as we have seen, told him nothing about it. This bears directly upon a passage in which Skeat seems to have preferred a wrong reading. In ll. 2472 f., the reasons for Demophoon's departure are given and the fact of his departure told:

He seide, unto his contree moste he saile,
For ther he wolde her wedding apparaile
As fil to her honour and his also.
And openly he took his leve tho,
And hath her sworn, he wolde not soiorne,
But in a month he wolde again retorne.
And in that lond let make his ordinaunce
As verray lord, and took the obeisaunce
Wel and humbly, and let his shippes dighte
And hoom he goth the nexte wey he mighte.

Two minor details are first to be considered. The phrase "took the obeisaunce" might seem to mean the obeisance of the land; that is, of Thrace, but the word is not used in this sense of "homage," or "subjection." The nearest approach to such a use is in the *Complaynte unto Pite*, l. 84,

Ye sleen hem that ben in your obeisaunce.

Moreover had it meant homage, or service, Chaucer would have written "took his obeisaunce." Skeat gives the right meaning in his glossary, where he explains it as "obedient farewell"—that is, Demophoon took his farewell. This sense, though unusual, seems correct; we may remind ourselves of our familiar phrase, "dutiful farewell." "Took the obeisaunce" was perhaps coined by Chaucer for the sake of the rime and the metre on the model of the French "prendre congé."

In the next place, it will be seen that Skeat understands the passage to mean that, after promising to return, Demophoon declared his lordship in that land Thrace, made his farewells, and left. So understanding, Skeat has placed a period after "retorne." This offers the difficulty that Chaucer, without apparent reason, makes Demophoon declare his lordship after taking leave and just before going. It offers the further and somewhat greater difficulty that the verb "let" is left without a subject. As a matter of fact, there should be no period after "retorne" and the proper meaning of the passage as it stands is that Demophoon "wolde retorne" and [then] in that land "let make his ordinaunce": briefly, that he would declare his lordship upon his return.

With this preliminary, we may approach the main point. In Ovid, a formal assumption of lordship by Demophoon is nowhere referred to. The only approach to it is in the *Her. ep.* 2. ll. 47 f.,

quae tibi subiecti latissima regna Lycurgi,
nomine femineo uix satis apta regi.

This does not necessarily imply that Demophoon had formally declared himself master of Thrace, and, moreover, we have just seen that the passage in Chaucer as it stands means that Demophoon was to become lord upon his return and marriage with Phyllis. The only possible explanation for Chaucer's version as it stands would be that he had given this turn to the story to heighten the baseness of Demophoon's ingratitude and perfidy. There is however a better explanation. The reading is an incorrect one. In the words "And in that lond," Skeat has taken the reading of C. and A. against the reading of F. Tn. Th. and B. Of the comparative rating of these texts, only this need be said. The C. Ms., can at least err to the extent of saying (l. 2484) "the story us recordeth" instead of "the stories us recorde," in spite of the rime "corde" in the next line; the scribe saw no reason why the word should be plural. Moreover, the F. Ms., whose reading Skeat here rejects, is one of the most valuable we possess, and is in fact the very Ms. on which Skeat bases his texts. To its excellence he has himself borne witness.

For the words "and in that lond" the reading of the four texts is "ageyn he wolde." The difference is a notable one. The phrase "and in that londe" disappears, and with it Demophoon's apparent suggestion that he would declare his sovereignty in Thrace. It is not in Thrace that he would do this, but at home. According to the new reading, there, in his country, he would prepare for her wedding, and again there he would declare his lordship. This gives a good reason for his going—and here again we may turn to the testimony of Boccaccio. The desire to assume the sovereignty is in fact, he tells us, the cause of Demophoon's departure. He says (x, 171 vv):

"Doue essendo alquanto seco dimorato, intendendo, che Mnesteo Re di Athene da fortuna, & trauagli del mare conturbato era arriuato all' isola Melos, et iui morto, tratto dal disio di regnare, impetrou per qual che giorno licenza da Philli. Così racconciate le naui, ritornò ad Athene."

Here appears the importance of recognizing,

as a moment ago, Chaucer's acquaintance with the details of Demophoon's history. Theseus had long been dead. He had been exiled and had died at Athens. The kingdom had not been in the hands of Demophoon, the rightful duke and lord. Though king by right, as Chaucer calls him (l. 2442), his kingdom was in the hands of others,—another version of this part of his history is used, it will be remembered by Gower, where in his third book he tells how the lieges of Demophoon and Acamas had disobeyed and forsaken their lords while they were at Troy. Now, Boccaccio tells us, Mnestheus, the reigning king, had died, and Demophoon is anxious to recover his throne and does so "doppo il uentesimo terzo anno del paterno essiglio." Here, too, the reason for Chaucer's choice of phrase becomes apparent that Demophoon "wolde make his ordinaunce as verry lord." Compare in the *Knights Tale* (A. 1550 f.):

Of his linage am I, and his of-spring
By verry ligne, as of the stok royal.

If this reading is taken, it is seen that the phrases "Ther he wolde her wedding appaile" and "ageyn he wolde make his ordinaunce" are appositive. So also the phrase "took the obeisaunce" is in apposition with, and finds corroboratory explanation (as meaning "took his farewell") in "he took his leve tho." The two intervening lines in which Demophoon declares his promise to return belong naturally to the first mention of his leavetaking. Plainly these lines caused the incorrect reading in C. and A., the introduction of a second reason not being understood after one growing so naturally out of the story. Yet as the passage stands in these texts (and in Skeat except for his period after "retorne"), it presents the awkwardness of containing two separate statements of Demophoon's leavetaking without apparent reason, with a statement between them of his intention to assume the sovereignty of Thrace for which Chaucer had no warrant. Finally—the reading here supported in any case demands explanation; it fits a history which Chaucer knew, related in an authority he elsewhere used; it is moreover the reading of four texts, one of them the best, as against two.

The story of Ariadne (*Hours of Fame*, ll,

405 f. *Legend of Good Women*, ll. 1866 f.) shows in a similar way the influence of the *De Genealogia*. In the former note in these columns cited above, verbal correspondences were pointed out between the version in the *House of Fame* and in Boccaccio's *Amorosa Visione*. Chaucer's use of this poem sufficiently explains the introduction of Phedra, whom Ovid does not mention in direct relation with the story; his complete knowledge of the details of her connection with it is of course not to be explained by her passing allusions to Theseus in her epistle to Hippolytus (*Her. ep.* iv). But the version in the *Legend of Good Women* contains a number of points which await explanation. Skeat, in his note upon its sources, besides referring to Ovid (*Met.* vii, 456-8; viii, 6-182; *Her. ep.* x. chiefly 1-74; also compare *Fasti*, iii, 461-516) suggests (3, xxxix) "But Chaucer consulted other sources also, probably a Latin translation of Plutarch's *Life of Theseus*; Boccaccio, *De Genealogia Deorum*, lib. x. capp. 27, 29, 30; also Vergil, *Aen.* vi, 20-30; and perhaps Hyginus, *Fabulae* capp. 41-43."

It is to be regretted that Skeat did not use the passages from Boccaccio to which he refers. Plutarch is often quoted, though his story resembles Chaucer's only in barest outline, and though there is no direct evidence whatsoever that Chaucer made use of it. Boccaccio elsewhere is quoted in full, as for example in connection with Hypermnestra. Here, however, after this single reference, Skeat does not speak of him again, not even in the memorandum of the sources which precedes the notes to the tale. Had Skeat examined the passages he cites, he would have found that Boccaccio supplies a gap of which he says that "Chaucer here leaves Ovid" and "seems to have filled in details from some source unknown to me." He would also have been saved making notes, which the *De Genealogia* shows to be unnecessary, and would not have failed to seek and consult other parts of the work, to which he would have been led by the helpfulness of these to which he does, at least, make reference.

One of the instances in which the *De Genealogia* would have proved helpful to Skeat is found in the first line of the tale (l. 1886). Chaucer addresses Minos,

Iuge infernal, Minos, of Crete king.

Skeat says,

"In l. 1894, we again have mention of Minos, king of Crete; which looks as if Chaucer has confused the two kings of this name. The 'infernal judge' was, however, the grandfather of the second Minos; at least, such is the usual account."

To suggest that Chaucer is in error in regard to a point of this sort is not without its perils—witness the famous case of the town of Via Appia in the *Second Nonnes Tale*. In the present case the mistake was not Chaucer's—he had authority; for plainly with regard to the Minos of the story, Boccaccio says (xii, 185^{vo}):

"Et poi chiamato giudice nell'inferno, per cioche noi mortali, rispetto a i corpi sopracelesti, siamo infernali, onde nel dar leggi, si come fece, si puo dire, che fu giudice dell'inferno."

At l. 1895, Boccaccio again proves helpful. Minos, we are told,

To scole hath sent his son Androgeus,
To Athenes; of the which hit happed thus,
That he was slayn, lerning philosophye,
Right in that citee, nat but for envye.

Skeat refers to Ovid, *Met.* vii, 456-8; Virgil, *Aen.* 6, 20, and to Plutarch (Shakspeare, p. 420). Ovid merely says that Minos went to war to avenge Androgeus; none of these says anything of the cause of the youth's death. It is to be found, however, in the *De Genealogia* (xi 186^{vo}):

"Fu Androgeo figliuolo di Minos & di Pasiphe, & giouane di molta uirtu, ilquale in Athene, nella palestra superando tutti, fu da Atheniesi & Megaresi morto per inuidia."

Passing by the story of Scylla, which is of course taken from *Met.* viii, 6-176, at l. 1922, that part of the story is reached where, Skeat says, "Chaucer seems to have filled in details from some source unknown to me." One of these details is the condition imposed upon the Athenians by Minos (ll. 1924 f.):

And this theeffect, that Minos hath so driven
Hem of Athenes, that they mote him yiven
Fro yere to yere her owne children dere
For to be slayn, as ye shul after here.

Skeat here quotes Plutarch, presumably not as Chaucer's source, for Plutarch says the children were sent yearly, Chaucer (l. 1932) every third year, but for purposes of compari-

son. There is really no similarity between them—while in Boccaccio there seems to be resemblance to Chaucer (x, 170^{vo})

"Finalmente essendo uinti patteggiarono con Minos in tal modo cio è che ogni anno si obligauano mandar sette gioueni di piu nobili Atheniesi in Creta al Minotauro."

Again Chaucer's description of the Minotaur (l. 1928 f.) as

a monstre, a wikked beste,
That was so cruel . . .

though sufficiently explained by the poet's invariably careful art as a story-teller may perhaps have been suggested by Boccaccio's description of him (iv, 61^{vo}) as "fortissimo, ferocissimo, & furioso animale." Further at l. 1932 we read,

And every thridd year, with-outen doute,
They casten lot, and, as him com aboute
On riche, on pore, he moste his son take,
And of his child he moste present make
Unto Minos, to save him or to spille.

"This," Skeat says

"is due to Ovid's expression—'tertia sors annis domuit repetita nouenis' (*Met.* viii, 171), which Golding translates by—'The third time at the ninth yeares end the lot did chaunce to light on Theseus' &c. But Hyginus (*Fab.* xli) says . . . 'anno unoquoque.'"

Hyginus certainly does not suit,—and Golding may so have translated the line from Ovid, but it does not follow that Chaucer in using this line would be either so free or so faulty in his translation. This translation of Golding's, which seems to support Skeat, is in fact quite erroneous. The entire passage reads (*Met.* viii, 168):

quo postquam geminam tauri juvenisque figuram
clausit, et Actaeo bis pastum sanguine monstrum
tertia sors annis domuit repetita nouenis . . .

There is nothing here about the third lot's "lighting on Theseus." Moreover are we bound to suppose that Chaucer mistranslated "nouenis" because Golding did—that is, as if it were an ordinal? Plainly it was the third lot which subdued the monster—hence, as only three had been cast, and the third was fatal, it follows that Ovid in saying "cast every nine years" refers to each single lot, not each three lots. This is in fact one accepted version of the story, as the yearly lot of Hyginus and Plutarch is another. It is better to believe that Chaucer did not mistranslate his Ovid, but

that he found his "every thridd year" in Boccaccio (x, 170^{vo}) who says they were obliged to send "i quali per sorte tre anni gli furono mandati."

The casting of the lots went on (ll. 1944 ff.)

Til that of Athenes king Egeus
Mot sende his owne sone Theseus,
Sith that the lot is fallen him upon,
To be deuoured, for grace is ther non.

Here a point arises as to where Chaucer learned of Aegeus. Skeat refers to Ovid, *Met.* vii, 405 f:

excipit hanc Aegeus, facto damnandus in uno:
nec satis hospitium est, thalami quoque foedere jungit.
jamque aderat Theseus, proles ignara parenti . . .

but neither this passage, nor *Met.* viii, 174, which might equally well have been added, possess vital relation with the story. All such references suppose a piecing-out of the story on Chaucer's part, that cannot recommend itself as a satisfactory explanation when compared with Boccaccio's directness (x, 170^{vo}):

"Ma il terzo [sorte] essendo tra gli altri toccato a Theseo, egli con grandissimo dolore del padre Egeo, per andarsene montò sopra una naue."

The casting of Theseus into captivity which follows, and the discourse of the sisters, is evidently Chaucer's own. The description of the labyrinth might have been taken either from Ovid, *Met.* viii, 173, or from the *De Genealogia*, iv, 61^{vo}. For ll. 2146 f.

And by the teching of this Adriane
He overcom this beste, and was his bane.

Skeat might have adduced *Met.* viii, 174, "ope virginea," but here also Boccaccio may be profitably consulted (x, 170^{vo}): "Theseo poi per consiglio d'Arianna restato uittorioso."

One detail of Chaucer's story is baffling—the visit of the fugitives to "Ennopie." Why did Chaucer introduce such a mere detail at all? He says particularly that Theseus went to visit a friend, and Skeat suggests very helpfully that Ovid makes so much in another connection (earlier in the story when Minos was making war) of the friendship of Aeacus, king of Oenopia, (that is Aegina), for the Athenians and the house of Aegeus, that this may have influenced Chaucer. But why introduce so useless a detail at all? The question is worth considering. Probably it is only the beginning of an unfinished episode.

For Phedra's connection with Ariadne's desertion, we have as source, as in the *Hous of Fame*, the *Amorosa Visione*, or the *De Genealogia*, xi, 186^{vo}. The lament of Ariadne is of course from the *Heroides*. One final detail, however, Chaucer did not obtain from Ovid. When Theseus reached home we are told (l. 2178 f.) that he

fond his fader drenched in the see.

This it will be remembered was because Theseus forgot his father's fond device regarding the color of the sails. Of this device, Chaucer says nothing, although in the line quoted he refers to the tragic consequences of Theseus's forgetfulness. In Ovid, there is nothing of this, but Boccaccio describes it (x, 170^{vo}):

"Di che il padre Egeo da un' alta torre riguardando, & ueggendo le insegne nere dubitò non il figliuolo fosse morto, & per dolore si gittò in mare."

One or two notes upon minor points may be added. Skeat gives references to Ovid for the birds, fishes, and beasts, that the gods have "stellified," spoken of in the *Hous of Fame*, ll. 1004-08. He does not do this for the two Bears, for which see *Fasti*, i, 54 f., or for Castor and Pollux, for which see *Fasti*, i, 705, v, 700. "Atlantes doughtres sevene," Skeat says are the Pleiades, and refers to *Fasti*, v, 83. There is certainly a possibility of mistake here, for Ovid expressly states (*Fasti*, iv, 169) that but six of the Pleiades were stellified. Is it not, on the whole, more likely that Chaucer's reference was to the Hyades, who were also daughters of Atlas, and were also stellified,—and all seven of them, not six? The suggestion is not an idle one, for both Ovid and Boccaccio have much to say about them. Moreover, we find that when Chaucer is asked whether he can place these "doughtres sevene" in the heavens, he replies (l. 1011 ff.) that "it is no need,"

I leve as wel, so god me spede,
Hem that wryte of this matere,
As though I knew hir places here;
And eek they shynen here so bright,
Hit schulde shenden al my sighte,
To loke on hem.

Now who were they that wrote of this matter? Compare Ovid, *Fasti*, v, 165 f.

at simul inducunt obscura crepuscula noctem,
pars Hyadum toto de grege nulla latet,
era micant Tauri septem radiantia flammis,
nauita quas Hyadas graius ab imbre uocat.
pars Bacchum nutrisse putat; pars credit esse
Tethyos has neptes, Oceanique senis.

Note here Ovid's reference to their splendor, and to their position in the constellation of Taurus. Boccaccio similarly in his chapter (iv, 69^{vo}) in "Le Hiadi sette figliuole d'Atlante," quoting Ovid to the effect that they are "nel fronte del Tauro locate," goes on after citing "Theodontio" and Anselm to explain:

"Et prima io istimo essere in questo modo accaduto la loro assuntione in cielo, percioche di numero si conueniuano con le stelle poste nella fronte del Tauro: onde cio è stato pigliato da quelli, che sapeuano il numero delle figliuole d'Atlante fauolosamente quelle stelle da i nomi delle donzelle essere nomati: & con tinuando, di maniera s'è congiunto con le stelle; che fino al di d'oggi dura."

And later he explains, with reference to the position of the sun in Virgo, significance of the legend of their connection with Bacchus:

"che con l'umidità sua, onerò del segno, nel quale sono, stando il Sole in Virgo, nella notte diano molto uigore alle uigne il giorno arse dal Sole."

With this evidence, it would seem possible that it was Ovid and Boccaccio who informed Chaucer "of this matere," and that the reference is to the Hyades, not the Pleiades.

At l. 1584 of the *Hous of Fame*, Eolus is mentioned as being found

in a cave of stoon
In a contree that highte Trace.

"The connection of Æolus with Thrace," Skeat says in his note, is not obvious. Perhaps Chaucer found his warrant in Boëthius, iv, *Met.* iii:

"Yif thanne the wind that highte Borias, y-sent out of the caves of the contree of Trace, beteth this night (that is to seyn, chaseth it a-wey)."

Finally, the temptation is not to be resisted, to call attention to certain points of resemblance between a passage in Boccaccio and Chaucer's exquisite description of the "mighty god of love" in the *Legend of Good Women*, Prol. B. ll. 226 f.

Y-clothed was this mighty god of love
In silke, enbrouded ful of grene greves,
In-with a fret of rede rose-leves,
The freshest sin the world was first bigonne,

His gylte heer was corouned with a sonne,
 In-stede of gold, for hevynesse and wighte;
 Therwith me thoughte his face shoon so bryghte
 That wel unnethes mighte I him beholde;
 And in his hande me thoughte I saugh him holde
 Two fyry dartes, as the gledes rede;
 And aungellyke his winges saugh I sprede.
 And al be that men seyn that blind is he,
 Al-gate me thoughte that he mighte wel y-see;
 For sternely on me he gan biholde.

In the first place we note that Boccaccio opens his description (ix, 148 *ro*) with an exposition of the might of the god, "il quale i pazzi (!) antichi, & moderni uogliono, che sia Iddio di gran potere"—in proof of which he adduces Seneca's Hippolytus. "Ne quali uersi," he adds "si dimostra quanto grande sia di lui potenza," whereupon he adduces other authorities.

The description of the dress the god wore is undoubtedly, as Skeat points out, taken from the *Romaunt of the Rose* (see the English version, l. 890). It is in the other details of his appearance that Boccaccio's influence possibly appears—and Apuleius of all people is the ultimate source. Boccaccio quotes the famous description in the Golden Ass, where Psyche looks upon Cupid asleep

"con la chioma della testa d'oro con la tempie latee, con le gote purpuree, con gl'occhi cerulei, con i capelli tutti intricati in un globo, & crespi, che qua, & la pendeuano, & uentilauano . . . per gl' homeri d'esso Iddio uolatil le piume biancheggiauano di una luce diuina . . ."

and so on. Is it not possible that in this unblinded god, with his golden hair woven into the semblance of an aureole, and with his wings shining white with a divine splendor, we can see an adumbration of the god of Chaucer's vision? Chaucer places also in his hands

Two fyry dartes, as the gledes rede.

For this, Boccaccio affords no direct equivalent, but what at least may have suggested it. He quotes Seneca's *Octavia* (ix, 148 *ro*).

Finge l'error mortal, ch'amor fia uccello
 Che è così fiero, & dispietato Dio,
 Indi le mane di faette gli orna
 Con l'arco sacro, & con la cruda face.

and he comments (ix, 149 *ro*):

"Viene finto portar l'arco; & le faette . . . Si li aggiunge la face, che dimostra gl'incendi de gl'animi, che con fiamma continua da noia a i prigionieri."

The god who led Alcestis could certainly not carry bow, arrow, and torch as well, but Chaucer can at least symbolize the flame with which he consumes men's souls by making his darts themselves of fire.

Here our comparison may end, for though a number of other passages both in Gower and Chaucer exhibit Boccaccio's influence, the correspondences here noted are all that may be readily discovered in the *Legend of Good Women* and the *Hous of Fame*. The mention of this latter poem suggests a question—when will the sources of its third book be discovered? That they will be found, there can be but little doubt. It is true there are those who maintain somewhat eagerly that this poem is essentially Chaucer's own, that it is his only 'original' work. This view or method of statement is one to be regretted; it implies that Chaucer lacks originality elsewhere. That view would seem to be the preferable one which Emerson maintained—and with regard to Chaucer himself—that that man is truly original who recreates.

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SOME NEW BOOKS ABOUT SHAKESPEARE.

Die Hamlet Tragödie Shakespeares von RICHARD LOENING. Stuttgart: Verlag der J. G. Cotta'schen Buchhandlung, 1893. 8vo, pp. x, 418.

Shakspeare: Fünf Vorlesungen aus dem Nachlass von Bernard ten Brink, hrsg. von EDUARD SCHRÖDER. Strassburg: Karl J. Trübner, 1893. 8vo, pp. vi, 159.

Shakespeare and His Time: Under Elizabeth, [English Writers, vol. x.] By HENRY MORLEY. London: Cassell & Co., 1893. 8vo, pp. xv, 507.

Führende Geister: Shakspeare. Von ALOIS BRANDL. Dresden: L. Ehlermann, 1894. 8vo, pp. viii, 232.

Shakspeare and His Times: Under James I. [English Writers, vol. xi.] By HENRY MORLEY and W. HALL GRIFFIN. London: 1895. 8vo, pp. xv, 468.

William Shakespeare: 1-10 Lieferung. By GEORGE BRANDES. Paris and Leipzig: Albert Langen, 1895.

PROBABLY no other writer of modern times has so occupied the best thought of the most highly cultured nations for at least one and a half centuries past, as has Shakespeare, the burgher-bard of Avon. His birth-place and those parts of London where he once lived and worked form the Mecca of the literary world. His name and fame are familiar in every land where English literature has found a reader. Thousands of the lovers of literature of all the most highly civilized nations who know not a word of the English language are, nevertheless, thoroughly acquainted with Shakespeare's immortal dramas. His life and works are as intimately known in certain Continental countries of Europe; for example, Germany and Austria, as they are in either England or America. Shakespeare's best and most popular plays are presented on the stage much more frequently during the course of a year in the larger cities of the German empire and in Vienna, than in all the cities of the English speaking world combined. Furthermore, plays like *Romeo and Juliet*, *The Merchant of Venice*, *Hamlet*, *Richard III*, are more popular among the Germans than the best productions of their own Lessing, Goethe or Schiller.

We are not surprised, therefore, to find books on Shakespeare appearing by the dozen every year in the literature of Germany. *Hamlet* has been for years a most popular and absorbing theme for students and critics in Germany, England and America.

"For close upon three centuries critics and commentators have been explaining and elucidating the greatest tragedy of the greatest dramatist of all time, 'Hamlet, Prince of Denmark.' As it is one of the very longest of Shakespeare's plays, so it is the one into which he seems to have thrown himself with his whole soul. It bears the name of his only son, Hamlet, who died, eleven years old, in 1596. If the sorrow-stricken father wished to perpetuate the name of his son he has succeeded. For among all civilized nations the name of Hamlet has become a symbol of the highest reach of insight into human souls as yet attained by man. More enduring monument father never raised to son."¹ "Würdig

¹ "Shakespeare at Elsinore," by Jon Stefansson in *Contemp. Rev.*, Jan., 1896.

steht er (Hamlet) an der Spitze der Dichtungen, die unter dem Namen der Tragödien bekannt sind und die grossartigsten, gewaltigsten Erzeugnisse der tragischen Muse in aller Litteratur bilden."²

Prof. Loening's *Hamlet-Tragödie* is undoubtedly the most interesting and thorough study of this masterpiece of English literature that has yet appeared. Though a professor of Law in the University of Jena and, as he himself modestly says in the introduction to his book, a *dilettante* in the field of literary criticism, he has, nevertheless, given to the public a splendid specimen of his thorough knowledge of Shakespeare, as well as of English literature in general, and of a most scholarly comprehension of the time-honored *Hamlet* controversy in all its phases. Loening has in the judgment of many of the best Shakespeare scholars, succeeded in clearing up, if not completely, at least more nearly than any one of his predecessors, the life-mystery of Shakespeare's greatest creation.

Loening has arranged the matter of his book in two parts: Part i (pp. 1-142), "Hamlet Criticism in Germany;" Part ii (pp. 143-400), "The Content and Importance of The Hamlet Tragedy." At the end of the book he gives a register of the principal works used and referred to, which in itself furnishes an excellent bibliography of Hamlet literature in Germany, England, and America. In Part i, where German criticism of *Hamlet* is treated historically and chronologically, the author has not only given a list of the more important works on *Hamlet* which have appeared in Germany for the past one hundred years, together with a *résumé* of their contents, but he has also endeavored to put clearly before his readers the various theories of Hamlet's character advanced by different critics, and has usually shown with convincing clearness wherein they have all failed to solve the riddle of his life. The first chapter, The Earliest Representation and Comprehension of *Hamlet* in Germany, is introduced in very striking and forceful language;³

"The 20th of Sept. 1776 will remain memorable for all time in the history of the German theatre and German literature. On that day a drama of Shakespeare was presented for the

² ten Brink, *Fünf Vorlesungen*, p. 56.

³ The writer's own translations from the original.

first time on the stage in Hamburg, under the direction and according to the specially prepared edition, of Friedrich Ludwig Schröder. This play was *Hamlet, Prince of Denmark*. The impression which this first representation of *Hamlet* in Hamburg made on the German public, was so powerful and its success so beyond all question, that from that time on the victory of the British poet-genius over the false and unnatural in the poetic taste of the Germans might be considered as decided."

After briefly discussing Lessing's attempts at the introduction of the Shakespearean and English literary taste into Germany instead of the French style, for sometime all-powerful, but already decadent, Loening goes into the details of the earliest presentations of *Hamlet* in Germany, giving especial importance to the influence of the Hamburg performance on German dramatic taste. From this date (Sept. 20, 1776) till the beginning of 1778, *Hamlet* was performed thirty times in Hamburg alone and "admired by full houses." The enthusiasm of Hamburg for Shakespeare and his *Hamlet* soon spread over entire Germany. In the latter part of 1777, *Hamlet* was enthusiastically received by the theatre loving public of Berlin. Early in 1778 it was also played in Gotha, then, in Dresden, etc. Everywhere in Germany *Hamlet* preceded other Shakespearean plays, and not one equaled it in popularity and frequency of representation. Ten plays of Shakespeare were given one hundred and eighty times on the Hamburg stage from 1779 to 1798, and of these seventy-five fall to *Hamlet*, thirty-three to *Lear*, thirty-one to *Merchant of Venice*, etc. (cf. p. 10, note). Though *Hamlet* was from the beginning exceedingly popular in Germany, the form in which it was produced (that is Schröder's version of the text) differed in some very essential points from the original. The changes which Schröder made naturally gave rise to a general misunderstanding of the play and its hero from Shakespeare's point of view. So we find Goethe among the first of the admirers and critics of Shakespeare, who demanded that the drama be presented to the German public in an exact translation of the original. It was, therefore, in great part due to Goethe's efforts to make *Hamlet* accessible and comprehensible to the Germans, that he was led to that thorough study of the

principal character of the play, which enabled him to direct and control, so to speak, all *Hamlet* criticism from his day to the present time. Goethe was the founder of the modern school of *Hamlet* critics, and his well-known theory of Hamlet's character as given in *Wilhelm Meister* (iv, 3, 13), has been virtually that of nearly all the most important critics of the last one hundred years. The real burden of Loening's work is to prove beyond a doubt that Goethe's idea of Hamlet, and consequently that of his successors in the field of Shakespeare criticism, is in its essentials false. He shows, moreover, wherein the well-known theory of Werder fails properly to account for the mystery of Hamlet's life. In refuting these and all other attempted explanations of Hamlet's character, the author gradually and clearly works out his own solution. We shall attempt to give in brief the essentials of Loening's theory, commencing with his statement and explanation of Goethe's theory. The remaining chapters of the book, in which other theories and the various phases of the play are ably discussed, will thus be left undisturbed to the enjoyment of each reader. Every one, who is at all interested in Shakespeare's master-piece, and wishes to see for himself the gist of the best that has been written on *Hamlet* for a century, should not fail to read Loening's book.

According to Loening (cf. p. 19) Goethe regarded Hamlet's hesitancy as not merely temporary, but lasting, that the revenge finally taken was wrenched from him only by the force of circumstances. As a congenial poet, he felt, therefore, that the cause for Hamlet's conduct could only lie in a lasting, inborn bias of his character,—only in his natural disposition. In this admission lies, says Loening, the point and essential significance of Goethe's conception of Hamlet. In emphasizing the importance of the conflict between Hamlet's *naturelle* and the task that had been imposed upon him, Goethe undoubtedly struck a true note. And he also correctly recognized that the key to this conflict is contained in Hamlet's words at the close of Act i. But, unfortunately, the true meaning of these words escaped him, as well as all later German critics, as a result of inexact translation. He gave to these words a col-

oring and importance which the original does not contain, and he drew from them correspondingly incorrect conclusions. The two lines in question are:

"The time is out of joint: O cursed spite,
That ever I was born to set it right!"

The determining words, Loening goes on to say, are: *O cursed spite*, and these are incorrectly rendered by Goethe through *Wehe mir*; they really mean: *O verwünschter Aerger*, or *O verfluchte Widerwärtigkeit*; they are the expression of an inner disinclination for the imposed task, and not the sighing complaint of a soul that has been loaded with too heavy a burden, and which feels that it will succumb to the same. Expression is given in those words, "O cursed spite," not to a tragic feeling, but to a peevish, irritable disposition. Hamlet does not cry "woe!" (*wehe*) about himself, but he curses the task that has been laid upon him (*die ihm gestellte Aufgabe verwünscht er*, p. 20). At the same time the bitter, harsh expressions, in which this feeling asserts itself, show that it is in this case not a question of a tender, delicate, weak sentimentality, but of a very energetic, active feeling on the part of Hamlet. This points further to the fact that, on the whole, the picture which Goethe has sketched of Hamlet's character—but more especially, that side of it in which he discovered the ground of his hesitancy—does not harmonize with that which the poet (Shakespeare) evidently intended.

The author proceeds in this (3rd) chapter to show how Hamlet on various occasions gave the strongest evidence of energetic and manly courage, and also that a further point against the Goethe conception is to be seen in Hamlet's actions with reference to the duty which had been forced upon him. Had a lack of energetic action in reality hindered Hamlet from the accomplishment of the deed, nevertheless, urged on by the feeling of duty, he would have exerted himself to the utmost to overcome the obstacle of his *naturelle*, and to arrive at the end and aim of his task. He would, at least have had to form, even if only temporarily, an honestly intended resolution to earnestly take the fulfilment of the revenge in hand. In a word, Hamlet would have had to manifest the will and inclination to accom-

plish the task. He would have had to fix his eye on this, even if without any settled plan, nevertheless as an end. Now the play furnishes a number of expressions and acts of Hamlet, which, at first sight, might be taken for just such intentions and attempts; for example, the assumption of the rôle of a madman, the presentation of the play before the king, the impulse to kill the praying king, the killing of Polonius, whom he apparently considered the king,⁴ and several expressions in the soliloquies which seemed to indicate the forming of a resolution. Goethe appears, in fact, to have taken these actions and expressions in such a sense, when he speaks of Hamlet's "vacillating melancholy," his "active irresolution" (*Wilh. Meist.* v, 6; iv, 13; v, 4). All who before, or since Goethe, have written on Hamlet, have likewise shared this conception, which, says Loening, is incorrect. Not only this view, but almost all those that have thus far been expressed must be discarded. *In truth Hamlet is never for a moment, during the entire course of the dramatic action, until immediately before the close, earnestly determined to take upon himself the carrying out of the revenge. He does not form a vigorous resolution, and he does not, until the final catastrophe, undertake a single act with the intention, that it shall in any way serve him in the accomplishment of the revenge.* He not only has no plan for exacting vengeance, but revenge is not his aim. This is a cardinal point for the understanding of the piece.

Having thus (in Chap. ii) clearly stated Goethe's theory of Hamlet's character and at the same time pointed out its defects, Loening devotes the remainder of Part i to the discussion and elucidation of the various theories which critics, since Goethe's time, have attempted to establish. One by one, he takes them up and refutes them in such a logical and convincing way, that one finally wonders what direction the author's own theory will take. Space will not permit our going further into the details of the interesting discussions of Part i. It remains to say a few words in further explanation of Loening's conception of Hamlet's character, as stated very elabo-

⁴ Cf. on this point an exceedingly interesting article, "Shakespeare at Elsinore," by Jon Stefansson.

rately in the first chapters of Part ii. As a very fitting transition from the discussions of the first part of the book to those of the second, the author has in Chapter ix summed up the results and conclusions to which he has been led by a careful consideration of the German *Hamlet* criticism, stating the real problem from his own standpoint and giving a forecast of the method of argumentation pursued in Part ii.

Chapter ix bears the title: "Hamlet an Unsolved Riddle; Attacks upon its Artistic Value. *Sursum Corda!*"

If we cast a glance, he says (p. 132), at the *Hamlet* criticism in Germany, as we have presented it to the reader in the preceding chapters, the result is anything but satisfactory. After the tragedy of the English poet had been freed from the crudest disfigurements by Goethe's artistic judgment and the way paved to a correct knowledge, the work of a century has been devoted to giving to the nation a clear understanding of this artistic production. However, as we have seen, they have not only not succeeded in reaching their end by proceeding along the path struck out by Goethe, but all their attempts to approach the same along other ways must be considered as complete failures. Indeed one may say: the more criticism has deviated from Goethe's standpoint, the farther it has wandered from the immanent spirit of the poem,—yea, from the spirit of all true poetry; the more it has involved itself in contradiction with itself and with poetry in general, the more it has degenerated into inartistic fancyings. And the most recent attempts at explanation are, in general, only calculated to call forth ridicule and satire. Thus up to the present day *Hamlet's* character has not been explained, the motives for his demeanor, the consistency of the dramatic action, the tragic idea of the piece, have not yet been clearly understood. *Hamlet* is still, as in Goethe's time, an unsolved riddle.

The insufficiency of their explanations has often enough been felt to a greater or less degree by the critics themselves. Evidence of this has presented itself to us in the fact, that, in order to maintain their own explanations, they have declared the hero to be wholly, or, at least, half crazy (cf. p. 49 f.;

67 f.). The validity of this feeling is further shown by the fact, that the critics were frequently forced to acknowledge, that there is, in spite of all explanation, an inexplicable residue, as well in the character of the hero as in the consistency of the dramatic action,—a secret, mysterious obscurity or half-obscurity, in which the profoundest principles of the tragedy lie concealed. However, they have tried to discover just here an especial æsthetic excellence of the play, a peculiarity conditioned by its collective character, a cause of its attractiveness, and indeed of its wonderful truthfulness to nature. They claim the poet wished to create a mystery, such as the life of man itself offers, and just as nature envelops the final causes of things in an impenetrable veil.

To be sure, life offers much that is secret and mysterious to him who stands in the midst of it, and who does not understand himself perfectly, and studies the phenomena about him only from separate sides, without being able to entirely comprehend their connection. The poet who wishes to give in his productions an image of life cannot, therefore, with propriety allow such a mystery to rule within the world created by himself,—mystery especially for the people of this world. But for the poet himself, for the creator of this world, there can be nothing secret and mysterious in it. He knows and directs everything, and there is nothing in it, which does not issue from him. And as the poet himself stands outside of and over the world as created by himself, so he must bring the hearer and reader also to his standpoint. For inexplicable mysteries and unfathomable secrets there is, therefore, absolutely no place in an artistic dramatic work which really deserves the name; and of that, such a master of the dramatic art as our poet, was conscious.

"Shakespeare," says Goethe,⁵ "follows the *Weltgeist*; he interpenetrates the world, as the *Weltgeist*: to both there is nothing concealed; but if it is the business of the *Weltgeist* to keep secrets before,—indeed often, after the deed, then it is the desire of the poet to divulge the secret, and to make confidantes of us before, or at any rate during the act. . . . The secret must out, even if the stones are to reveal it."

And does not the poet himself cause his *Ham-*

⁵ Cf. Aufsatz, *Shakespeare und kein Ende*, I.

let to say to the actors (iii, 2): "The players cannot keep counsel, they'll tell all?"

On the other hand, there are secrets of nature, which no one, not even the poet, can penetrate. However, the critics have falsely appealed to this principle in order to justify the supposed mysterious element in our tragedy. We do not at all have to deal here with such unsearchable secrets of nature, with the final causes of things; but that which has remained mysterious to criticism, has reference to the constitution of human characters and the motives of human actions: things which for the poet, who is ever to be found in the inner constitution of his characters, can and dare not be a secret, if his characters are to count for real human beings. If, however, in our tragedy the final, mysterious questions about existence *are* now and then touched upon, these questions do not constitute the unsolvable subject of the piece, but the subject of consideration of individual persons of the same, and they serve solely for the characterization of these persons.

We shall, therefore, in the mean while hold fast to the belief, that we have before us in *Hamlet*, in spite of all, a great and real tragedy; that the supposed contradictions and obscurities rest upon misunderstandings; and that the fault is in ourselves, if plan and idea of the piece have thus far remained hidden to us.

The first three chapters of Part ii are given up to a thorough analysis, both psychological and physiological, of Hamlet's character. In Chap. x the author considers what to him are the three determining features of the hero's character: (1) Hamlet's melancholy temperament; (2) The choleric element in Hamlet, (3) Hamlet's disposition and moral character. Suffice it to say, without going into the minutiae of Loening's most thorough and searching analysis, that he finds the grounds for Hamlet's delay in executing vengeance for his father's death in the first two of these characteristic elements; namely, in his melancholy temperament and choleric disposition. In the author's careful examination of Hamlet's temperament both from the physiological and psychological side, we are made to see more clearly than ever how all the critics of the past

have misunderstood the true character of Shakespeare's great creation. Loening shows by a large number of quotations from the play, that Shakespeare really intended to delineate a melancholy character in the person of Hamlet.

In discussing the physical feature of Hamlet's disposition or temperament, and what importance the melancholy temperament of a man may have in a practical way, and what influence it exercises over the volitions and actions, he says, among other things (p. 157), "The temperament rests on the physical condition, on the corporeal constitution of man; and this it is which determines the influence of temperament upon action. This is fully recognized in Shakespeare's works and given its full value. All of his psychology rests upon a physiological basis. . . . Shakespeare considers the *blood* to be that component of the bodily organism, which preeminently determines human feeling. From the blood proceed, according to Shakespeare, all the feelings, inclinations, desires and motives. For him the blood is the special source and seat of the passions, and he, therefore, frequently employs the word "blood" in the designation of the affections of the soul. Balanced against the blood—nature, the sensitive faculty,—stands the brain, reason or judgment, that is, the sum of the mental and moral forces in man, through which he is enabled to check and control the desires and passions of the blood. . . . And it may easily be shown how the whole tragic plan of our poet rests upon this contrast between blood and judgment, between nature and reason. It depends on the condition of the blood how and what the man feels, what inclinations and disinclinations—whether motives to, or hindrances of action—arise in him."

Of the physical peculiarities which evidence a melancholy disposition, Loening emphasizes especially Hamlet's stoutness or rather fatness. When Hamlet compares the dissimilarity between his uncle and father, with that between himself and Hercules,⁶ he evidently refers, as Loening rightly says, to the *inner* characteristics of the two men,—the contrast between the noble and the common. And there is no good reason for assuming with most critics that Hamlet means here his own insignificance in strength and size of body as compared with Hercules (p. 177 f.).

⁶ Cf. Act i, 2: "But no more like my father than I to Hercules."

Hamlet evidently lacked, under ordinary circumstances, the strength and durability necessary for great physical exertion, and the poet has given certain hints which point directly to this as a fact. Especially to be considered here are Hamlet's utterances in i, 4, where Horatio will prevent him from following the ghost, and he shouts in the highest pitch of excitement:

"My fate cries out;
And makes each petty artery in this body,
As hardy as the Nemean lion's nerve;"

and in i, 5 after the ghost has vanished, he says:

"Hold, hold, my heart;
And you, my sinews, grow not instant old,
But bear me stiffly up.—Remember thee!
Ay, thou poor Ghost, while memory holds a seat
In this distracted globe."⁷

The first utterance shows how Hamlet experiences a strengthening or tension of his internal organs from the momentary impulse of exceedingly exciting impressions; the second how, with the removal or abating of the exciting impressions, the feeling of strength gradually vanishes, and a sort of relaxation and exhaustion comes over him, as if he had suddenly grown old. The queen, who is thoroughly acquainted with the *naturelle* of her son, speaks to the point in v, 1, at the grave of Ophelia, where Hamlet falls into a vehement quarrel with Laertes:

"This is mere madness:
And thus awhile the fit will work on him;
Anon, as patient as the female dove,
When that her golden couplets are disclosed,
His silence will sit drooping."

This passage has reference principally to the excitability of Hamlet's inner nature, but at the same time, the words "his silence will sit drooping" show that the relaxation of this excitement rests on physical exhaustion (p. 179).

Still another and more important characteristic of Hamlet in this connection is his much discussed and debated "fatness" and "scantiness of breath." Whoever will read carefully what Loening says on this point (pp. 180-182), together with the references in the play itself, can no longer doubt that Shakespeare meant exactly the words he puts into the mouth of the queen, v, 2; "Hee's fat and

⁷ Quoted from Hudson's *Hamlet*.

scant of breath," which expression is contained both in the second Quarto of 1604, and in the first Folio of 1623.⁸ It is rather strange that some critics and actors, in the face of the undoubted authority given to the word "fat" by the fact of its occurrence in two of the three earliest editions of *Hamlet*, persist in reading and speaking "He's *faint* and scant of breath." Had Mr. Beerbohm Tree read these few pages of Loening's book, he would hardly have said: "I take it that Shakespeare wrote '*Our son is faint* and scant of breath,' and so it is spoken on our stage,"⁹ and then have attempted to prove from the following dialogue between the King, Queen and Laertes that "faint" is correct, whereas the same dialogue can be much more forcibly used to show that the word could be nothing else but "fat." The most recent conjecture for the poet's own word is "flat," while "faint" and "hot" have been going the rounds in Shakespeare literature for years (cf. p. 180, n. 59). That Hamlet was "fat"—not so much bulk of body, as internal fatness, "fatness of the heart" is most probably the proper conception of the prince—we are lead to believe by several references to his daily habits and customs, which occur in the play itself. In ii, 2, Polonius says to the king:

"You know, sometimes he walks for hours together
Here in the lobby,"

and the Queen in affirmation,

"So he does indeed."

And in v, 2, Hamlet says to the king: "Sir, I will walk here in the hall: if it please his Majesty, 'tis the breathing-time of day with me." Then we are informed in ii, 2 and v, 2, that he is accustomed to take regular fencing exercises. And the very regularity of the recreations points to the fact, that they are intended to give the necessary exercise without especial exertion to a man who, on account of his quiet manner of life, is inclined to stoutness (cf. p. 182).

Other characteristics which point to the melancholy temperament of Hamlet are his tendency to Fatalism, and the making known

⁸ Cf. Shakespeare Reprints. *Hamlet* ed. by Wilhelm Vietor, Ph. D., Marburg, 1891.

⁹ Cf. "Hamlet—From an Actor's Prompt Book," *Fortnightly Review*, Dec. '95.

of his sorrows and displeasure to those about him—not by complaining, but by harsh judgment of whatever pains or injures him. Moreover his desire to be alone and his frequent soliloquizing and tendency to ironical expressions, are universal characteristics of the melancholy man or woman.

Hamlet is, however, not to be considered the "hero of thought," "the prince of speculative philosophy," the "digging" student who is only at home in the sphere of the intellect (cf. pp. 188-9). He is, in fact, not at all the pure thinker, philosopher, or scholar, as most critics have considered him. Hamlet is *thoughtful*, but his thinking never has reference to purely abstract, intellectual matters, but exclusively to real phenomena. He does not speculate about the final causes of all existence, about the mysteries of the universe, but he halts in the face of these questions. When he speaks of the "to be, or not to be" in the famous soliloquy, iii, 1, that is not philosophising, but simply the expression of his sad, ironical disposition; and when he asks "in that sleep of death what dreams may come," he does not thereby wish to make an examination of this question, but he wishes solely to indicate the reason why philosophers have so little fear of death. The dreams themselves are to him the things "that we know not of," and he makes no attempt to press the question further. His utterances on this point have nothing whatever to do with philosophic, abstract thinking, as has been so frequently asserted. Hamlet's mind is not consistent and methodical in its thinking, does not firmly retain matters in question, until their causes have been sought out; but it delights in changing the subject of consideration, and springs easily from one subject to another. The great instability of his mind and his easily excitable imagination, only permit him to follow each object in thought until it is forced out again by new impressions. Above all, Hamlet's method of thought is—in opposition to all philosophy—wholly under the influence of his *naturelle*, his natural inclinations and disinclinations, which even force the understanding to find such causes as are likely to satisfy it and drown the voice of reason. Least of all is Hamlet a scholastic philosopher. He speaks of philosophy in only two places: i, 5, he says to

Horatio, in reference to the latter's astonishment at the subterranean voice of the ghost, "There are more things in heaven and earth, Horatio, than are dreamt of in your philosophy." The other passage is in ii, 2, where, in speaking of the fickleness of man to Rosencrantz and Guildenstern, he uses the words: "Sblood, there is something in this more than natural, if philosophy could find it out."

Thus in refuting the Goethean idea that Hamlet was too much of a *thinker* and philosopher, to be an energetic man of action, Loening has shown quite conclusively that the real cause of his inaction is to be found in his *naturelle*, especially in his melancholy temperament and choleric disposition. In commenting on the peculiar characteristics of Hamlet's nature, in the second of a series of articles on "Hamlet and Robert Essex,"¹⁰ Hermann Conrad speaks in terms of the highest praise of Loening's splendid work, though he does not agree with him fully in his detailed analysis of the hero's *naturelle*.¹¹ And no higher praise could be found than a paragraph from a review of Loening's work by the celebrated philosopher and critic, Kuno Fischer,¹² which we give here in the original:

"In seinem unlängst veröffentlichten Werk hat Richard Loening umfassender, gründlicher, in das Ganze und jeden seiner Theile eindringender, als es vor ihm geschehen ist, diese Fragen zu lösen versucht. Der sehr beträchtliche Umfang des Werkes, die Fülle des darin enthaltenen wohlgeordneten Materials zeigt, dass wir es mit der Frucht mehrjähriger Studien zu thun haben. Schon dadurch ist der Verfasser, gelehrter Jurist von Fach und Beruf, gegen den Vorwurf des Dilettantismus geschützt, wie er es auch in der Vorrede mit dem berechtigten Bewusstsein seiner Arbeit und Forschung selbst ausspricht. Es hat übrigens noch nie einem Werke zum Nachtheile gereicht, wenn es aus der freiesten, von allem Berufszwange unabhängigen Neigung entsprungen ist. Dies gilt von dem Loening'schen Buch. Das selbe ist mit einer so geordneten und übersichtliche Sachkenntniss geschrieben, dass es zwar nicht den beabsichtigten, aber keineswegs unwichtigen Nebenzweck

¹⁰ *Preussische Jahrbücher*, Juli, 1895.

¹¹ *Cl. Preuss. Jahrb.*, p. 107.

¹² "Ein neues werk über Hamlet und das Hamlet-Problem" in *der Beilage zur Münchner Allgemeinen Zeitung* for 1894. Nos. 57, 58, 60.

erfüllt, zugleich ein brauchbares Repertorium der Hamlet Literatur zu sein."¹³

A well-known German professor and English philologist remarked one day, just after the appearance of ten Brink's *Fünf Vorlesungen über Shakspeare*, in the course of a lecture on Shakespeare, that this little book contained the only things worth remembering that had ever been said about the great English bard. While this remark may justly be considered an exaggeration by Shakespeare students, it is nevertheless true that every sentence in the book is well worth remembering by all lovers of the literary and esthetic beauties of Shakespeare's language. No one else has written so valuable an estimate of the man and his work in so few words. It is, at the same time, an interesting biography and an inspiring literary criticism. Strange to say, in spite of the fact that Shakespeare was ever ten Brink's special favorite in the field of literature, he had no other opportunity of saying and showing to the world how much he loved him and his works, than in these five lectures, which he delivered before some institute in Frankfurt a. M., in the months of February and March, 1888. Up to the day of his untimely and most unfortunate death in 1891, he was too exclusively occupied with the earlier periods of English literature, especially with Chaucer and his time, to devote much of his attention to Shakespeare, and his excellent *History of English Literature* was completed about to the close of the fifteenth century.

The present little volume contains these five essays as delivered in Frankfurt, together with a likeness of ten Brink, and a short introduction by Prof. Edward Schroeder of Marburg, who arranged the matter for publication after the death of the author. No attempt will be made here to criticise the matter of the essays, but they are herewith most enthusiastically recommended to the careful reading of every student and lover of Shakespeare. An English translation of the book was published by Henry Holt & Co. in 1895.

Not long after the death of ten Brink in Ger-

¹³ Since the above was written, Fischer has published a large volume on *Hamlet*; *Kleine Schriften*. 5. *Shakspeare's Hamlet* von Kuno Fischer. Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1896. 8vo. pp. 329. In this study he discusses Loening's views at length.

many, England also suffered the loss of one of her most interesting and enthusiastic historians of English literature in the person of Prof. Henry Morley. In vol. x of his *English Writers*, he has given to the world an exceedingly readable and valuable biography of that part of Shakespeare's life which fell under the reign of Elizabeth. He has not only brought together here all the available facts and current legends about the poet's comparatively unknown private life, but he has more especially attempted to give us a true conception of the time in which Shakespeare lived and worked. Morley gives, moreover, a sort of literary biography of all Shakespeare's contemporaries, who were in any way connected with the great poet's life and works. We get here, as probably nowhere else, a clear idea of how much Shakespeare was really indebted to the influence of English contemporary literature; we are made to see just how he utilized scenes, events, and characters of men like Peele, Greene, Nash, Marlowe, Kyd, and a host of others in the re-working and writing of the dramas that bear his own name.

* Vol. xi of the *English Writers* series was left incomplete by Morley. We are informed by the editor of the book, Prof. W. Hall Griffin, in his preface, that Morley had completed the first eight chapters, and that chapters ix-xiii only needed arranging and a few corrections, while the last chapter (xiv) was written entirely by Prof. Griffin. After this the editor has given a list of all the authorities used or referred to in the book. This bibliographical list extends through about one hundred pages, and to this is added a very convenient index.

This volume which bears the title: "Shakespeare and His Time: Under James I," is simply a continuation of vol. x. In it the later years of the poet's life are treated in the same interesting, comparative way, as the earlier ones had been. And the contemporaries of Shakespeare's last days claim especial attention.

Prof. Brandl has produced an exceedingly interesting hand-book on Shakespeare, published as vol. vi, in the series of *Führende Geister*. Though the book was written for the German reading public, American and Eng-

lish students will find in it a vast deal of interest and importance. The poet's life history is well given as far as it has any basis in known facts, but theories founded on doubtful legends find no place in this estimate of Brandl. Following somewhat in the line of Dowden in his *Shakespeare Primer* and his *Shakespeare: His Life, Art and Mind*, Brandl divides the active literary life of the poet into convenient periods, each period taking its name from the most important play or class of writings, that appear in it. For instance, after the first two periods, which the author very fitly names the *Stratford Jugendjahre* and the *Londoner Lehrjahre* respectively, in the latter of which Shakespeare's earliest productions of whatever sort are discussed, we have: the *Falstaff-Periode*, the *Hamlet-Periode*, the *Lear-Periode*, and the *Romanzen*. Under the period in which each play is considered, is a brief description of the origin and sources of the play, together with the dates of the different editions of the same. One also finds here, written very concisely, the author's own esthetic and literary estimate of the more important characters of the various productions. At the end of the work an appendix is added, in which the books of most importance to the Shakespeare student are given, and the especial merits of each are indicated by a few words.

The most recent work on Shakespeare, and the one which, at the same time, promises the most thorough and attractive consideration of the poet from a literary and esthetic point of view, is from the pen of the noted Danish critic and *litterateur*, George Brandes. The work bears the simple title *William Shakespeare*, and is appearing²⁴ in instalments from the press of Albert Langen, Paris and Leipzig. There are to be about a dozen of these instalments, of which ten have already appeared, each containing eighty pages. Brandes's special merit in this work is his establishing more nearly than has yet been done, the chronological order of Shakespeare's productions. He attempts also to trace the life of the poet as man, and his genius as writer in gradual stages of development in the works themselves. While directing his at-

²⁴ Since the above was written Brandes's work has been completed.

tention to the interesting historical development of the man and poet, he introduces incidentally, as it were, the most beautiful and charming descriptions of Shakespeare's individual characters. Brandes's discussions of these various characters contain all the finer esthetic estimates, which are to be found in Gervinus, Hudson, or Dowden, combined with the data necessary to give the most satisfying picture of the world's great poet.

WM. H. HULME.

Western Reserve University.

GERMAN LITERATURE.

Aufsätze über Märchen und Volkslieder von REINHOLD KÖHLER. Aus seinem handschriftlichen Nachlass herausgegeben von JOHANNES BOLTE und ERICH SCHMIDT. Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1894. 8vo, pp. 152.

JOHANNES BOLTE and Erich Schmidt have taken upon themselves the grateful task of editing six essays on folklore by Reinhold Köhler. They were originally lectures, or rather, as the editors put it, "schlichte vergleichende Mitteilungen," delivered before the *Mittwochs- or Schlüsselverein* at Weimar. As only the first has ever been printed before, the book is most welcome. The editors have added notes and references, and we find by way of introduction to the whole work a sympathetic essay on Köhler by Erich Schmidt.²⁵ As Köhler's work has proved so important to folklore, I may be pardoned for mentioning the main facts of Schmidt's introduction.

Köhler was born in Weimar in 1830 and died there in 1892 as *Oberbibliothekar*. His simple and uneventful life was entirely devoted to scholarship. At the university he studied philology under Diez, Hand, Hoffmann (the Orientalist), and others. He cannot be said to have had a great constructive mind, but by his editions, his reviews, his short essays, he made himself felt in many different branches of philological work, especially in folklore. He was originally a classical philologist, then did valuable work in German literature (on Les-

¹ Cf. *Weimarische Beiträge zur Literatur und Kunst*, 1865.

² See, too, Schmidt's remarks on him in the *Goethe-Jahrbuch*, xiv, 297.

sing, Goethe, Schiller, Wieland, Herder, Bürger, Z. Werner, H. v. Kleist, also on H. Sachs, Moscherosch, Grimmshausen, Shakspeare in Germany), furthermore in English literature, especially on Chaucer, and made some contributions to our knowledge of Boccaccio and Dante. His special field, however, was folklore, and his erudition in that field was almost phenomenal. Erich Schmidt once speaks of him (in the notes to his essay on 'Lenore'), as "der auf diesem Gebiete allkundige R. Köhler."

The first essay of the book, *Ueber europäische Märchen*, has been much used and quoted; so, for instance, in commentaries on Goethe's *Faust*, because of Margaret's song in the prison scene. It contains a short survey of all valuable collections of *Volksmärchen* made before the appearance of the Grimms' *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* (1812). It is remarkable to see (p. 17) how men like Wieland (in 1786) and Kotzebue (in 1791) could speak in disparaging terms of popular tales, at a time when Herder had made all progressive minds aware of the value of popular ballads and lyrics. The chief aim of the essay is, however, to show the wanderings of certain tales throughout Asia and Europe. Köhler mentions the fact that the great diversity of subjects which strikes the student of popular tales is not real, and all the stories we have are variations on a few themes. He agrees with Benfey in believing that a large number of stories came from India and spread from there, especially after the Mohamedan conquests in the East, or in a roundabout way through the Mongols. Many such stories were made familiar to the West particularly by Boccaccio and Straparola. Hence traces of old Germanic influence can be proved in comparatively few cases.—The whole theory of the spread of popular tales is finely illustrated by the wanderings of 'Der treue Johannes' (Grimm, No. 6).

The second essay, *Eingemauerte Menschen*, treats of the belief current in many parts of Germany that human beings were walled into the foundations of castles, or bridges. Köhler also quotes Servian, Armenian, Hungarian and Greek songs based on this belief, some of which are remarkable for power. In many, birds play an important part. The nightingale appears as a messenger, as it does in the popular poetry of almost all nations.³

Delicious naïveté characterizes the stories dealing with St. Peter (third essay). He is either made fun of or reminded of his own shortcomings on earth by souls wishing to enter Paradise. Stories about St. Peter were used by Bürger, Schubart, Voss, H. von Kleist, Halm. Köhler exhibits literary sense in his appreciative treatment of the popular ballads and tales he discusses in the essay entitled *Die sprechende Harfe*. Generally the idea underlies the stories, that from the bones of a murdered person a harp was made which when

played, betrayed the murderer. The Icelandic ballad (p. 85) has wonderful force. In Geibel's *Balladen vom Pagen und der Königstochter* we find the same idea in a somewhat changed form. The sly seriousness underlying many products of the popular mind delightfully comes out in the tales on good and bad luck in the fifth essay (*Von Glück und Unglück*). The belief that the lucky remain lucky even against their will and that the unlucky cannot improve their condition in spite of great efforts is especially well illustrated by some Italian and Servian tales. In the last essay (*Das Hemd des Glücklichen*), Köhler traces with admirable erudition and versatility the different forms of a wide-spread story in which a sick man, generally in high station, could be cured by the shirt of a perfectly happy person. After a long fruitless quest, a happy man is found,—but he is too poor to own a shirt. This story is found in Tunis among the people, and in modern times has been used with variations by different writers, among them Daru (of Goethe fame), Walter Scott in *The Search after Happiness or The Quest of Sultan Soliman* and by W. G. in the *Fliegende Blätter*, lxxv, 149. Köhler adds other stories which preach contentment by showing that nobody is perfectly happy. He mentions a Hindoo legend about Buddha, first published by Max Müller in 1869, a story in Lucian, one in a letter of Emperor Julian to Amerios, one in the Pseudo-Kallisthenes, one in Ser Giovanni's *Pecorone*. This last-mentioned story inspired Mrs. Eliza Haywood in *The Fruitless Enquiry or Search After Happiness* (London: 1747). The book closes with a valuable bibliography of Köhler's writings.

C. VON KLENZE.

University of Chicago.

CORRESPONDENCE.

CHAUCER IN ITALY.

TO THE EDITORS OF MOD. LANG. NOTES,

SIRS:—I noticed too late for insertion in my paper of your last number, that the Foreign Accounts roll printed by me is described in the Chauc. Soc. *Trial Forewords to Minor Poems*, p. 130. I quote the description in full. "1374 or 3. Exc. L. T. R. *Foreign Accounts*, 47 Ed. 3. Roll 3. C's accounts for his journeys to Genoa and Florence, from 1 Dec. 1372 to 23 May 1373." This misleading description by which the dates appear to apply to the accounts and not to the journeys—it may be a mere matter of punctuation—is responsible for the form of Professor Skeat's note (*Oxford Chaucer* i, p. xxiv, note 67).

Dr. Furnivall writes me that this roll with others is one he has long intended to print in *Life Records*. The interest of the roll, and

³ Cf Böckel, *Deutsche Volkslieder aus Oberhessen*, p. lxxxviii.

its immediate bearing upon the Chaucer-Petrarch problem which I have been long studying, will justify a double publication, ordinarily unnecessary. I trust the Foreign Accounts roll for the second Italian journey may soon be printed, separately, if the *Life Records* hang fire.

In my communication to *The Nation* of Oct. 8th, I have possibly made too much of the Second Italian journey as the real beginning of Chaucers "Italian Period." I still think the theory probable—but *post hoc's* are specious. Chaucer's "Italian Period" means to me the time when Italian influence was formative in his works; at an earlier time Chaucer may have known something of Italian, certainly knew something of Italy. The growth of such an influence was, probably, gradual, but the time of its florescence into the great Italianate poems appears at once to be short and to follow closely upon the second Italian journey. This alone deserves the name "Italian Period."

FRANK JEWETT MATHER, JR.
Williams College.

NOTES ON HALL'S CONCISE ANGLO-SAXON DICTIONARY.

ERRATA.

TO THE EDITORS OF MOD. LANG. NOTES,

SIRS: I wish to call attention to the following errors that appeared in my articles in the June (No. 6) and Nov. (No. 7) issues of this Journal:

Col. 327, line 13, the brackets should be closed after the interrogation point; same col., note 9, line 6, *ðufhammar* should read *ðufhamar*.

Col. 331, note 21^b, line 2, for *half* read *hlaf*; for *gespring ende* read *gesprengedne*; line 3, for *halfa* read *hlafa*; line 5, for *gebegedne* read *gebagedne*; line 7, for *gesprengende* read *gesprengedne*; for *klafa* read *hlafa*.

Col. 332, line 17, for *hylstēne* read *hylstēne*; same col., note 23^b, line 1, for *hylleshama* read *hyllehama*.

Col. 333, line 11, for *teðridtid* read *teðridtid*; line 12, for *ð* read *ð*.

Col. 333, note 25, line 5, for *t esca*, *t iscia* read *t esca*, *t iscia*.

Col. 413, line 20, read *Hall* for *Hal*.

Col. 413, note 42, read *t æfnung* for *t æfnung*.

Col. 414, line 25 read *bad* for *baed*.

Col. 414, note 44, read *WW. 479, 17*, as is correctly printed in note 46.

Col. 416, note 47, line 4, read *botriones* for *botrognēs*.

Col. 417, line 9, read *t eahtho* for *t eahtho*; also lines 12 and 14, *t* should read *t*, being the abbreviation of *uel*.

Supplementary to what I have said (Col. 415) on Hall's entry *gripu* 'Kettle, caldron,' I wish to draw attention to the German dialect (Wirz-

burg) forms *krodeln*, *krödeln*, *krötteln*, denoting the boiling of sausages or sausage-meat in a particular kind of caldron. Hence the fork or hook, by means of which meat or sausages are fished out of the caldron, is called *crodal* in OHG.¹ In regard to the conclusion at which I have arrived on col. 418, concerning Sweet's *grundsopa* having no standing in Anglo-Saxon, I may add, that what we find *WW. 717, 36*, *hoc abdomen grundsopa* is very likely *hoc abdomen glundrope*, that is, *gelund rope*; cp. *WW. 160, 14 renunculi lundlagan*; *WW. 159, 6 abdomen hrysel uel gelend uel swind uel swines smere*; *rope*, of course, stands in the old sense of 'bowel' and is also to be restored in *WW. 679, 9 hec colera the ersope*; that is, *ers rope*, which, in meaning, is practically identical with *hic cirbus A. harstharme*; that is, *ars tharme*, representing a German *Arschdarm*.

OTTO B. SCHLUTTER.

Hartford High School.

VERSTECKENS SPIELEN.

TO THE EDITORS OF MOD. LANG. NOTES,

SIRS:—Prof. Thomas in his *Practical German Grammar*, p. 200, speaks of the word *Versteckens* in the phrase, *Versteckens spielen*, as "a genitive difficult to classify." Grimm, Sanders, and Heyne offer no explanation. In Heidelberg the little children can be heard to say distinctly: "Nu, spiele wir *verstecke'ns*." This is certainly Süddeutsch for, "Nun, spielen wir *verstecken uns*," which has been contracted into *Versteckens*, as in Kotzebue's *Kleinstädter*, iv, 7: "Geschwind noch einmal *versteckens* gespielt." Thus what appears to be a genitive is merely a verb and its object.

EDWARD MEYER.

Western Reserve University.

BRIEF MENTION.

The next Annual Meeting of the Modern Language Association of America will be held at Adelbert College, Cleveland, Ohio, December 29, 30, 31. The Opening session will be convened at 3 o'clock, December 29th. The President of the Association, Professor Calvin Thomas, of Columbia University, will deliver an address on "Literature and Personality," December 29th at 8 o'clock.

Professor A. H. Tolman and Mrs. Ella Adams Moore, of the University of Chicago, have published a "Select Bibliography of the English Drama before Elizabeth," and "A Comparative Table of the Four Cycles of Religious Plays." Together, twenty-five cts. (The University of Chicago Press.) These lists and tables are carefully prepared and will be found very helpful.

¹ Cp. Schmeller, *Bair. Wtb.* ii, 382.

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1968-1970

MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

A. MARSHALL ELLIOTT, MANAGING EDITOR.

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